

Linguistic variation and change in a North-East border town: a sociolinguistic study of Darlington

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Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Introduction		
-	Motivation for the present study.....	1
-	Aims of the study.....	2
-	Structure of the study.....	3
Chapter One: Linguistic variation – Community and the individual		
1.0	Introduction: choice of sociolinguistic community-based approach.....	6
1.1	Macro-based level analysis: the ‘speech community’.....	9
1.1.1	Macro-level analyst constructs: age, sex, ethnicity and ‘class’.....	9
1.1.2	Intra-community variable: sex.....	9
1.1.3	Intra-community variable: age.....	14
1.1.4	Intra-community variable: ethnicity.....	19
1.1.5	Intra-community variable: social class.....	20
1.2	Micro-level community-based approaches.....	24
1.2.1	Micro-level approach: social networks.....	24
1.2.2	Micro-level approach: Community of Practice.....	30
1.2.3	Eckert’s ‘Jocks versus Burnouts’ study in Detroit.....	31
1.3	Language ideology.....	36
1.4	Conclusions.....	38
1.5	Theoretical issues of language variation and change.....	39
1.5.0	Variation: the variant as a linguistic unit.....	39
1.5.1	Variant and change: dialect contact.....	42
Chapter Two: Historical and geographical background of Darlington		
2.0	Introduction.....	48
2.1	Location of Darlington.....	49
2.2	History and population growth of Darlington.....	50
2.3	Lack of sociolinguistic survey.....	53
2.4	The shifting identity of Darlington: the shoehorned state.....	54
2.5	Perceptual boundary map-labelling task.....	59
2.5.1	Conclusions.....	62

Chapter Three: Methodology and study design

3.0	Introduction.....	64
3.1	Study design.....	64
3.1.1	Sex.....	65
3.1.2	Age.....	65
3.1.3	Social ‘class’.....	66
3.1.4	Details of subject selection.....	70
3.2	Design of the data set.....	72
3.2.1	Sequence of fieldwork.....	74
3.2.2	Style.....	74
3.2.3	Transcription.....	77
3.2.4	Re-transcription.....	79
3.2.5	Statistical analysis.....	80
3.3	Identities questionnaire (IDQ).....	81
3.3.1	Aims and objectives.....	81
3.3.2	Method and structure.....	82

Chapter Four: Linguistic variable selection

4.0	Introduction.....	85
4.1	Pilot study.....	85
4.1.1	Selection of linguistic variables.....	86
4.1.2	Vowel systems of SED areas surrounding Darlington.....	88
4.1.3	Consonantal system of SED areas surrounding Darlington.....	90
4.1.4	Other contemporary North-Eastern sociolinguistic studies.....	90
4.1.5	Subject subset selection.....	94
4.1.6	Transcription details: reading word list.....	94
4.1.7	Conversation.....	95
4.1.8	Transition problems from RWL to conversation.....	96
4.1.9	Analysis of phonological variables: eliminated variables.....	97
4.1.10	Analysis of phonological variables: retained variables.....	98
4.1.11	Summary of pilot study.....	104
4.2	Review of linguistic variables: vocalic variables.....	110
4.2.1	The vowels of FACE and GOAT.....	110
4.2.2	FACE and GOAT in Tyneside English.....	113
4.2.3	FACE and GOAT in Durham and Teesside English.....	114
4.3	Consonantal variables.....	120
4.3.1	Word-initial (h).....	120
4.4	(t) variability in the North-East of England.....	125

Chapter Five: Results

5.0	Introduction.....	129
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5.1.0	FACE variants.....	131
5.1.1	FACE vowel – Free conversation style.....	132
5.1.2	FACE vowel – Reading word list style.....	135
5.1.3	Effect of speaking style.....	138
5.1.4	Effect of following context.....	141
5.2.0	GOAT variants.....	142
5.2.1	GOAT vowel – free conversation style.....	143
5.2.2	GOAT vowel: reading word list style.....	148
5.2.3	Effect of following context.....	149
5.2.4	Effect of speaking style: distribution of closing diphthongs - style differences.....	153
5.2.6	Effect of speaking style: distribution of peripheral monophthongs – style differences.....	154
5.2.7	FACE and GOAT vowels: style comparison of monophthongs/diphthongs.....	151
5.2.8	Peripheral monophthong [e:] and [o:].....	157
5.2.9	Closing diphthongs [eɪ] and [oʊ].....	158
5.2.10	Reading word list style.....	159
5.3.0	Word-initial (h).....	161
5.3.1	Overall distribution of word-initial [h, Ø] – Formal style.....	162
5.3.2	Overall distribution of variants of (h): FC.....	165
5.3.3	Overall distribution of tokens: unstressed personal pronouns	168
5.3.4	Overall distribution [h, Ø]: unstressed auxiliaries.....	171
5.3.5	Overall distribution [h, Ø]: stressed items.....	174
5.3.6	Comparison of [h] across the three lexical environments.....	176
5.3.7	Style differences for word-initial (h).....	178
5.4.0	Variants of (t).....	180
5.4.1	(t) word final.....	182
5.4.2	Conversational material for pre-pausal (t): overall distribution.....	182
5.4.3	Style differences for pre-pausal (t).....	185
5.4.4	Conversational material for turn-final (t): overall distribution.....	186
5.4.5	Conversational material for word-final pre-vocalic (t): overall distribution.....	189
5.5.0	(t) word medial.....	194
5.5.1	Word medial intervocalic (t).....	194
5.5.2	Conversational material for intervocalic (t).....	195
5.5.3	Style differences for word medial intervocalic (t).....	199
5.5.2	In summary.....	200
5.6	Summary of trends.....	200

Chapter Six: Identity, mapping and orientation in Darlington

6.0	Introduction to the structure of the chapter.....	203
6.1.0	Quantification of qualitative data.....	203
6.1.1	Evaluation of Darlington English.....	204
6.1.2	Specific qualities of the Darlington English accent.....	205
6.1.3	Change of accent.....	206
6.1.4	Regional orientation: Geordie.....	207
6.1.5	Regional orientation: Teesside.....	209
6.1.6	The Geordie accent: dialectological perceptual differences between DE and Geordie.....	211
6.1.7	The Teesside accent: dialectological perceptual differences between Darlington English and Teesside.....	212
6.1.8	Summary of attitudes to language.....	213
6.1.9	Place: Darlington within the North-East.....	213
6.1.10	Place: Regional affiliation and orientation to Darlington.....	215
6.1.11	Place: Darlington as an “individual” area.....	216
6.1.12	Place: Darlington versus “the North-East”.....	218
6.1.13	Summary of ‘Place’.....	220
6.2	Locally relevant identities: North-Eastern inter-group comparison.....	220
6.2.1	Middle-class use of (e) and (o) in three North-Eastern areas.....	222
6.2.2	Comparison of MbE and DE (t) usage in WC class speech for pre-pausal and turn-final positions.....	229
6.2.3	Speaker group comparisons: pre-pausal and turn final (t).....	230
6.2.4	Comparison of MbE and DE (t) usage in WC speech in word-medial intervocalic position.....	236
6.2.5	Conclusions.....	238

Chapter Seven: Discussions

7.0	Overview.....	240
7.1	Overview of Darlington English.....	240
7.1.1	Social ‘class’ and the River Tees as a linguistic boundary.....	236
7.1.2	Age and the use of glottal (t) in the UK.....	244
7.1.3	Problems with age as a social variable.....	245
7.1.4	Sex.....	246
7.1.5	Style: effect on variant use.....	248
7.2	IDENTITY: issues of identity of Darlington within the North-East.....	251
7.2.1	Locally relevant identities: Darlington as an ‘enclave’.....	252
7.3	Summary.....	259

Chapter Eight: Conclusions

8.0	Fulfilment of the aims of the study.....	260
8.1	Further areas of study.....	263

Abstract

This thesis presents a sociophonetic study of Darlington, an urban area in the North East of England which has not previously been the focus of linguistic investigation. The study of Darlington is further motivated by the geographical position of the town on the North Yorkshire/South Durham boundary: an area which previous research suggests coincides with a number of dialectal isoglosses. The study examined phonological variability in the speech performance of 32 Darlington English speakers. A total of ten linguistic variables were initially considered for more in-depth investigation across two different styles, a reading word list and free conversation. Consequently five variables were chosen for detailed analysis in light of the results from the pilot study and the fact that they could be compared with existing accounts of the same variables in previous studies of other North-Eastern urban areas, such as Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Middlesbrough. The five linguistic variables (word-initial (h), word final and word medial (t), and the FACE and GOAT vowels) were sampled from speakers recorded in formal (by way of a reading word list) and informal (by way of a 40 minute free conversation) situations in dyads. The dyads were composed of pairs of speaker of the same sex, age and 'class'.

The study also surveyed aspects of the identity construction of the Darlington speakers and the role played in this by accent. A questionnaire was used to record the 32 Darlington English speakers' overt comments towards their accent and towards their regional identity (an approach which has been adopted in other sociolinguistic studies carried out in the North-East (cf. Llamas (2001), Burbano-Elizondo (2008) and Pichler (2008)).

By comparing the language ideologies expressed through the identities questionnaire and patterns of phonological variability, it was possible to evaluate the extent to which affiliation or disaffiliation to Darlington and/or to other areas in the North-East is reflected within the use of the particular variants which were tracked.

Overall, the results highlight that whilst Darlington English appears to be moving toward a pan northern koine in respect of both vocalic variables (e) and (o), there are also significant disparities between its phonetic inventory (absence of 'extended frication' and glottal reinforcement of /t/) and that of the varieties encountered in surrounding North-Eastern areas. In addition, the use of [h] in word initial position is not used as frequently as in other areas in what Trudgill terms the 'far north'. Indeed, far from being [h]-ful, Darlington English shows variable use of [h] and its use is highly influenced by social 'class'. Social 'class' was statistically significant for each of the five linguistic variables surveyed. The independent variable of age was significant for the use of (t) in Darlington English, highlighted by the frequent use of [□] in the younger speaker groups in contrast to that of [t] by the older speakers. 'Sex' showed significance for word-initial (h), but was not significant in any of the other four linguistic variables. The linguistic results are discussed principally in terms of their social effects (i.e. sex, age and 'class') and concluding with how the linguistic results fit in with the results seen not only in the North-East of England, but within the UK as a whole.

INTRODUCTION

The present study is borne out of the research of language within a social context. The movement of urban sociolinguistics was initiated by William Labov's pivotal study of speech within the city of New York in 1966 and in Martha's Vineyard prior to this in 1963. The motivation and backdrop to the present study is detailed below.

MOTIVATION FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

The motivation for the present study comes from the recent growth in work on phonological variation in contemporary varieties of British English, geared to understanding the trajectories of change and the role of a range of social factors in determining these. This work has shed light upon notions of dialect levelling (a process in which local variants recede in favour of a broad scale homogenisation (Cheshire et al. (1989), Kerswill and Williams (1999), Watt and Milroy (1999)) and dialect contact (Britain 1997, Sudbury 2000, Britain and Simpson 2003). Recent rapid changes, specifically over the last ten years within British English, have been motivated by an increase in social and geographical mobility, leading to dialect levelling. Kerswill and Williams' work in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull (1999) has shown evidence of such forms of dialect levelling in the south of England, whilst Watt's ((1998), (1999)) investigation of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne vowel system, highlights evidence for the presence of dialect levelling in Tyneside English. Key social parameters such as age, sex and social class have also been shown to be contributing factors to these changes. The present study focuses on Darlington, an area of the North-East of England that has previously received no form of contemporary sociolinguistic scrutiny. The study seeks to build on, and contribute to the existing research base, by looking at phonological variation and change in the town of Darlington.

A number of factors have contributed towards the selection of Darlington as the focus of the study. The first is the situation of the town itself, which lies upon the South Durham/North Yorkshire county boundary. This boundary coincides with a number of linguistic isoglosses (highlighted specifically by Ellis (1889), Orton & Dieth (1963), Trudgill (1974) and Milroy (1987)). Secondly, in recent years the strength of economy and industry situated to the east of the

town in the areas of Middlesbrough and Stockton-on-Tees, known as Teesside, has affected Darlington's socio-economic positioning within the North-East. The resulting economic and industrial gravitation towards Teesside has seen a growth in the numbers of daily commuters travelling from Darlington to these areas. Both areas contrast with Darlington socially, historically and economically. Recent work on phonological variation within Middlesbrough itself (Llamas (1998), (2001), Watt & Llamas (2004), Jones & Llamas (2003)) is of interest to examine the extent to which patterns of phonological variation in Darlington have been influenced by these factors.

Thirdly, in recent years, Darlington has experienced frequent shifts in local governmental structures. Some of these structures have identified the town as being an entity unto itself, whilst others have aligned the town to a range of more extensive administrative entities. In addition, the relationship of the town to its immediate neighbours, Middlesbrough and Stockton-on-Tees is doubly interesting, due to the economic factors mentioned above and also the shifting administrative changes in the area. The study aims to investigate if there is a link between linguistic performance and specific ideological attitudes of DE speakers. In addition, a number of linguistic factors in DE are compared to those in the neighbouring areas of Middlesbrough and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

AIMS OF THE STUDY

Extensive work in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Watt and Milroy (1999), Docherty et al. (1997), Maguire (2008), Moisl, Maguire and Allen (2006) and Moisl and Maguire (2008)), Sunderland (Burbano-Elizondo (2008)), Durham (Kerswill (1987) & (2003)), and Middlesbrough (Llamas (1998), (2001), Watt and Llamas (2004)) has covered the four other key urban areas within the North-East. Darlington has been termed the 'capital' of the south of Durham – an analysis of the dialect of Darlington will therefore add to the exploration of language variation in the North-East of England. The particular type of language variation to be investigated in this study is phonological variation based on an analysis of a range of phonological variables.

Two key areas of sociolinguistic theory underpin the aims of the current study. The first examines the influence of social factors on the speech community of Darlington, whilst the second explores how individual identity is reflected in phonological variability.

The specific objectives of the present study are twofold:

(1) to investigate patterns of variation in respect of a set of phonological variables that are relevant in depicting the sociolinguistic characteristics (across sex, age and social class) of speakers in Darlington.

(2) to examine aspects of the language ideology of Darlington English speakers. This involves examining the link between patterns of phonological variation and individual speakers' orientation to Darlington itself, and to nearby urban areas (such as Middlesbrough and Newcastle-upon-Tyne). This is achieved by surveying the opinions and attitudes of Darlington English speakers by implementing an 'Identities Questionnaire (IDQ (using a similar methodology to that of Llamas (2001) and Burbano-Elizondo (2008))). Finally, these attitudes and opinions are related to the observed patterns of phonological variation.

The next section outlines the format of the study chapter by chapter.

STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

Chapter 1 explores the “external social factors” which are focused on in the present study. Predominantly, the chapter investigates sociolinguistic findings pertaining to the extra-linguistic features of age, sex and social class. The chapter examines different standpoints taken by a number of sociolinguistic researchers regarding the categorisation of age, sex and social class. The chapter also proposes two other frameworks which have been utilised within similar sociolinguistic studies: those of ‘social networks’ and ‘community of practice’. It is necessary to outline both frameworks in order to highlight the range of methodologies open to the sociolinguist, and to motivate the choice of method for the present study.

Chapter 2 outlines both the historical and geographical contexts for the study of Darlington. These highlight a tension in its links with other areas of the North-East (as well as North Yorkshire) and a tendency amongst its inhabitants to think of the town as something of a separate entity. In pursuing this, the chapter examines results from a map-labelling task aimed at highlighting key geographical boundaries as visualised by Darlington English speakers (based on similar studies by Preston (1989), (1999), Britain (2002) and Montgomery (2007)).

Chapter 3 presents the design and methodology of the main part of the study. This details (a) the data sample and (b) the subject sample, outlining the overall design and the procedures for obtaining speech recordings.

Chapter 4 focuses on (a) the choice of linguistic variable selected as the result of a pilot study and (b) a literature review of previous studies (primarily relating to the North East of England) of the phonological variables chosen for detailed analysis. The pilot study examines eight Darlington English speakers who subsequently formed part of the full corpus of 32 speakers, representing different age, sex and social class groups and their variation in the production of a range of phonological variables. The results are then analysed and a sub-set of five linguistic variables are chosen to form the core of the study. A presentation of the background to these five variables draws on material found within the four Survey of English Dialects (SED – cf. Orton and Dieth (1963)) locations close to Darlington, and on contemporary research in areas such as Middlesbrough (Llamas (1998), (2000), (2001)) and Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Docherty et al. 1997).

Chapter 5 presents the results of the analysis for the five linguistic variables. The results are presented with respect to age, sex and social class. Dealing initially with the use of both FACE and GOAT vowels by Darlington speakers, the chapter then assesses the findings for word initial (h), before concluding with /t/ in pre-pausal, turn final, intervocalic and pre-vocalic positions. Both vocalic variables and (t) and (h) are examined in free conversation and more formal word list styles, and a range of environmental factors are investigated.

Chapter 6 concentrates upon the qualitative data accumulated from the ‘Identities Questionnaire’ (IDQ) set out in the research study design. By quantifying speakers’ responses, the results of the IDQ can be compared across all speakers. Individual analysis of a speaker’s phonological patterning against their specific regional orientation is then detailed. The ‘mapping’ of both the attitudinal and linguistic information is then contrasted with findings from Middlesbrough for vocalic and consonantal use.

Chapter 7 aggregates all findings found within the study: linguistic, extra-linguistic and attitudinal. The external factors outlined in Chapter 1 are examined in relation to the results found within the study.

Finally, Chapter 8 concludes by highlighting how the present study contributes to the overall picture of linguistic variation within British English in addition to assessing whether the aims of the study were successfully fulfilled.

CHAPTER ONE: LINGUISTIC VARIATION - COMMUNITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

1.0 Introduction: choice of sociolinguistic community-based approach

The main objective of this thesis is to investigate socially correlated phonological variation and change in Darlington. The immediate aim of this chapter is to explore the background to the different sociolinguistic methodological and theoretical issues which are relevant to carrying out this type of research.

There are two different approaches which sociolinguists have adopted in attempting to capture the dimensions along which linguistic variation can occur within a speech community. These are:

(1) **Studies adopting macro-level analysis:** applying macro-level analyst constructs¹ such as age, sex, social class and ethnicity within the ‘speech community’ framework. Such a framework investigates a sample of speakers sub-categorised by these parameters and designed to enable cross-group comparisons. This approach is a tried-and-tested one within the field of sociolinguistics, but many questions persist as to the definition and validity of the constructs concerned as well as the extent to which they actually “drive” language variation and change. Such studies correspond to Eckert’s ‘First wave’ of variationist study. The specific framework of the speech community is examined in 1.1.

(2) **Studies adopting micro-level analysis:** this approach focuses on the sources of language variation arising from the behaviours and interactions of individuals as they participate within a speech community. This “bottom-up” level of analysis is used as the basis for tracking and accounting for language variation and change. Overall, this

¹ This phrase (macro-level analyst constructs) is taken from Milroy and Gordon (2003:116) who describe class, gender, age and ethnicity as *macro-level analyst constructs* which they suggest “have proved useful to variationists in revealing remarkably *consistent sociolinguistic patterns*”. By isolating each ‘construct’ we are able to assess which exerts the most influence on the speech of an individual and consequently on the speech community as a whole. By assessing age over two generations, for example, we are able to uncover whether certain linguistic features are produced differently, allowing us to locate linguistic innovations within a speech community.

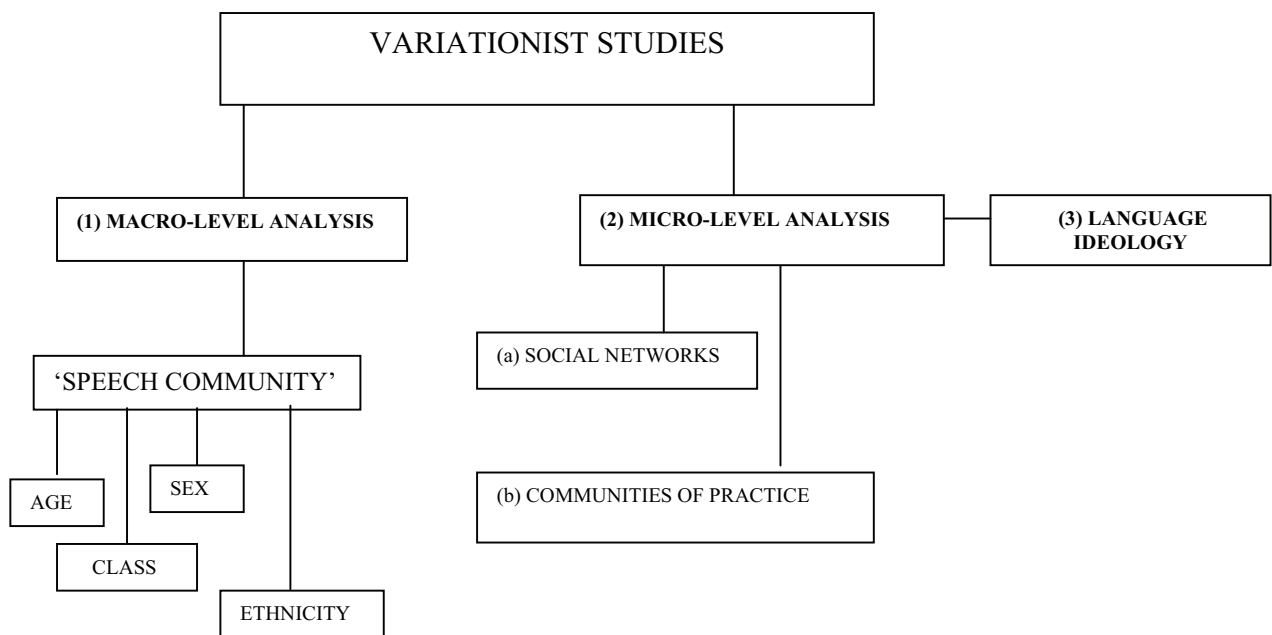
approach has been used much less within the sociolinguistic literature, although it clearly provides the basis for ethnographic analysis and investigation. This type of approach (corresponding to Eckert's 'Second wave' of linguistic study²) does have limitations, for example, in the number of subjects it is able to use, and, in practice, the approach is typically not adopted in a study covering a community that has hitherto received no form of macro-level sociolinguistic survey (such as Darlington). This approach is outlined in 1.2.

However, within a micro-level analysis, a valuable sociolinguistic perspective can be derived by assessing the link between language and individual identity. Language ideology as it is known in the sociolinguistic literature is essential in viewing variation from the point of view of the individual as a driver of language use. This is discussed further in 1.3.

² Cf. <http://www.stanford.edu/~eckert/thirdwave.html> or Eckert (2005) for an extended discussion of all three 'waves' corresponding to variationist studies. The third wave, as Eckert (ibid) states, "...views styles, rather than variables, as directly associated with identity categories, and explores the contributions of variables to styles. In so doing, it departs from the dialect-based approach of the first two waves, and views variables as located in layered communities. Since it takes social meaning as primary, it examines not just variables that are of prior interest to linguists (e.g. changes in progress) but any linguistic material that serves a social/stylistic purpose. And in shifting the focus from dialects to styles, it shifts the focus from speaker categories to the construction of personae".

Figure 1.1 schematises the approaches in terms of variationist studies below:

Figure 1.1: Three approaches to variationist studies³



Using this framework, the following discussion outlines micro- and macro-levels of analysis, highlighting the role of both in sociolinguistic investigation and considering the suitability of each to the present study. The discussion concludes with an evaluation of the theoretical framework chosen for the present study schematised in figure 1.1.

The following section assesses the ‘speech community’ framework, examining how sociolinguistic studies have treated the intra-community variables of age, sex, class and ethnicity.

³ Language ideology/identity for the purposes of this discussion is handled as a form of micro-level analysis, given that it is based upon analysis of the individual.

1.1 MACRO-LEVEL ANALYSIS: Darlington and the speech community framework

As outlined above, the present study aims to investigate the nature and effect of socially correlated phonological variation and change within the town of Darlington. A key methodological issue confronting the present study is to select a sample of speakers from a town whose population exceeds 100,000. The object of study is to investigate the DE speech community and assess variation within it, using two socially distinct groups.

It is quite plausible to adopt the term speech community in relation to a town such as Darlington, given Bloomfield's original definition of what a 'speech community' is:

“...a speech community is a group of people who interact by means of speech” (1933: 42)

What truly defines the speech community has been open to contention within the literature (cf. Gumperz (1968), Labov (1972), Patrick (2001), Wardhaugh (2005)). Patrick (2001: 2) states that the term 'speech community' has been used “for geographically bounded urban communities (both) large and small”. Patrick's thorough examination of the term 'speech community' within the sociolinguistic literature highlights the differing arguments as to whether the 'SpCom' is primarily a linguistic or a social entity. Drawing from his conclusions and those of Hymes (1974), it is fair to say that sociolinguists, on the whole, see the speech community as a social unit used for the methodological purposes of linguistic enquiry.

In order to categorise the speech community of Darlington, it is essential to assess the social factors which underpin the structure of such a community. In order to categorise groups within the speech community of Darlington, it is essential to assess the social factors which underpin the structure of such a community. A speech community can be analyzed and parameterized by a range of macro-level analyst constructs such as age, sex, social class and ethnicity. The following section assesses traditional sociolinguistic methodologies for each construct whilst examining which of these would best suit the Darlington speech community.

1.1.1 Macro-level analyst constructs: age, sex, ethnicity and social class

Each social construct is examined in light of the overarching findings drawn from previous sociolinguistic studies. The discussion begins with the intra-community variable of ‘sex’.

1.1.2 Intra-community variable: sex

In terms of investigating male and female speech, modern variationist studies differ greatly from earlier traditional dialect geography studies such as the ‘Survey of English Dialects’ (Orton and Dieth (1963) – henceforth, SED). These early studies, which sought to gain samples of speech indicative of a particular area, did not typically explore the possible differences between male and female speech within this area. The SED instead typically elicited speech from male speakers who had little or no geographical mobility, thus not only diminishing the influence that other accents may have had upon that particular speaker, but also not capturing whether female speech of that area differed to that of the male. Labov (1966), as well as Trudgill (1972) saw the importance of using sex/gender as a social parameter within variationist studies. The publication of Robin Lakoff’s ‘Language and Woman’s Place’ (1975) highlighted differences between male and female speech and, in turn, increased the profile of the parameter within sociolinguistics. Further studies (West and Zimmermann 1975; Maltz and Borker 1982; Cheshire 1982) aimed to assess the difference between male and female speech in society, using models such as ‘deficit’ and ‘dominance’. Essentially, the ‘dominance’ model proposes, as McIlvenny (2002: 1) states, “that power relations and inequalities are reproduced in conversational interaction between men and women”. At the time, as Litosseltti (2006: 3) describes, this only succeeded in “exposing male dominance in speech” rather than concentrating on the specifics of each sex within linguistic use (for an extended discussion on the ‘dominance’ model see West and Zimmermann (1983). On the other hand, the ‘deficit’ model is a way of interpreting the linguistic facts which “represent men’s language as the norm and women’s language as deviant” (Coates (1988: 7)). Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003: 454) describe the findings of the ‘deficit’ model as suggesting that female speech generally made them unsuitable for positions “of public authority and responsibility”.

What does seem to be a recurring point in any discussion of male and female speech is whether the sociolinguist is modelling ‘sex’ or ‘gender’. Both Wardhaugh (1998) and Romaine (2000) provide an insight into a fairly widespread confusion between the definitions of ‘sex’ and ‘gender’. In his book *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, Wardhaugh states that in earlier editions⁴, his ‘Language and gender’ chapter “had been titled ‘Language and sex’” (p.309). The change, he notes, was due to the “current vogue (...) to use gender rather than sex” (ibid). Similarly, Romaine (2000) notes that the wording of her chapter ‘Language and gender’ is used deliberately rather than ‘Language and sex’ in order to:

“draw attention to the fact that what concerns me here is the socio-cultural dimension of the division of humans into male and female persons (i.e. gender) rather than its biological determinants (i.e. sex).” (pp.103-4)

Wardhaugh considers a similar pair of definitions concerning ‘sex’ and ‘gender’⁵:

“...sex is biologically determined whereas gender is a social construct (but one heavily grounded in sex) involving the whole gamut of psychological, *social and cultural differences between males and females*” [my emphasis]. (p.309)

Thus, it would appear that whilst ‘sex’ is a biological determinant, ‘gender’ is a social construct which *does not* necessarily map onto biological sex (Milroy and Gordon (2003: 100)). Given the differences between the two, it is noteworthy that in the vast majority of sociolinguistic studies ‘gender’ is assessed by simply looking at the biological sex of the subject⁶ (this point is also noted in Nichols (1983), Eckert (1989b), Coates (1993), Wodak and Benke (1997), Coates (2006) – Bucholtz (2002: 13) provides both anecdotal reasons and theoretical terminology behind linguists’ choice of both ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ in studies of sociolinguistics). Llamas elegantly encapsulates such an approach⁷:

⁴ *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* was first published in 1986

⁵ Wardhaugh’s definition of sex mirrors that of Anthony Giddens’ in his ‘Sociology’ handbook (1989: 128): “sex is defined as biological or anatomical differences between men and women”

⁶ If the difference were purely signified by sex, such differences would be based in anatomical differences between men and women concerning the neurophysiological and neurological effects upon language: only a handful of linguists have attempted to assess such differences – cf. Chambers (1995: 132-137)

⁷ Also, cf. Labov (2001: 263), “...unless there is specific information to the contrary, field-workers record gender assignment as a given and obvious social factor, without explicit inquiry into the person’s sexuality, and this assignment is presumed to rest upon the subject’s biological sex”.

“...generally, gender variation is largely what is of interest in variationist studies, the binary category of biological sex is that which is commonly used to analyse and explain gender variation” (Llamas 2001: 16)

It would appear then that while sociolinguists may use the term ‘gender’, in most cases they are actually modelling the binary category of ‘sex’. The present study will refer to male and female linguistic use by using the term ‘sex’. The rationale behind selection of subjects for the present study in terms of the variable of ‘sex’ is put forward in 3.1.1.

There is considerable evidence in the sociolinguistic literature pointing to the significant differentiation in language performance of men and women. Labov (2001: 266-293) characterises male and female speech as embodying three general principles, constituting his *Gender paradox*⁸:

Principle 2: “for stable sociolinguistic variables: women show a lower rate of stigmatised variants and a higher rate of prestige variants than men”

Principle 2, dealing with the linguistic conformity of women was apparent in the results for velar nasal [ŋ] in Norwich (Trudgill (1972)) and [ɖ/d] in Belfast (Milroy and Milroy (1978)). The production of the stigmatised [ɖ] by females in all three neighbourhoods in Belfast (Clonard, Hammer and Ballymacarett) was low by comparison to that of the males. In Ballymacarett, women aged 18-25 used only 25% of [d] in their speech: this is in contrast to 80% of the stigmatised variant by their male counterparts being used in this area (men aged 18-25). In Norwich (Trudgill 1972), the use of the prestige [ɪŋ] for [ɪn] was higher in female speech than in male speech particularly in the lower MC. Table 1.1.1 shows that even in a formal style, the prestige [ɪŋ] is used more by women than by men:

⁸ These three principles constitute principles 2, 3 and 4 of Labov’s *principles of sound change*. Labov’s *Principle 1* is not discussed in this section. The principle, known as the *Curvilinear Principle*, pertains to linguistic change originating from a central social group, “located in the interior of the socio-economic hierarchy”. Essentially, the principle states that linguistic change is most likely to occur in class groups situated in “centrally located social milieus” (Labov 2001: 187) such as the lower middle class or the upper working class. The raising and fronting of (aw) in Philadelphian English is an example of such a change.

Table 1.1.1: Formal use of the prestige [ɪŋ] by gender in Norwich

	MALE	FEMALE
Middle Middle Class	96	100
Lower Middle Class	73	97
Upper Working Class	19	32
Middle Working Class	9	19
Lower Working Class	0	3

Trudgill (1972:184) notes that females have greater social mobility harnessed in ‘weaker’ social network ties (the notion of ‘social network’ is examined extensively in 1.2) than their male counterparts. Trudgill found that men in Norwich, whatever their social class, used realisations which were closer to the local vernacular and therefore less close to Standard English (Coates 2006: 63).

Principle 3: “In linguistic change from above, women adopt prestige forms at a higher rate than men.”

Changes from above, as Labov states (2001: 273-4), may take the form of the “importation of a new prestige feature from outside the speech community, or the re-distribution of forms with known prestige values within the community”. Furthermore, Labov extends this definition by noting that changes from above, “take place at a relatively high level of social consciousness (...) and sometimes form overt stereotypes similar to stable sociolinguistic variables.” Principle 3 proposes that changes of this sort are used and maintained by women more frequently than men. This, to use the Milroy and Milroy study of Belfast (1978) once more, was certainly the case when examining the raising of /e/ from [a] toward [e] (in words like *neck* and *desk*) in female Belfast speech. Milroy (1992: 117)⁹ suggests that raising of /e/ is a relatively recent phenomenon in Belfast. This feature is ostensibly associated with Scots English (cf. Gregg 1972). Milroy asserts that such raising (as well as [a] ‘backing’) is indicative of “incoming variants”. The advanced forms of raised variants of /e/ are found in the low-status inner city areas of Belfast in formal speech. That such forms are found in ‘careful speech’, is sufficient for Labov (2001: 274)

⁹ Reviewing their earlier study of Belfast English in 1978.

to call such variants *changes from above*. Interestingly, males favour the backing of /a/, which as Labov (2001: 274) suggests, is “favoured in the least monitored styles”.

Principle 4: “In linguistic changes from below, women use higher frequencies of innovative forms than men do”

Conversely to ‘changes from above’, Labov proposes ‘*Principle 4*’, which assesses *changes from below*, linguistic changes which operate below the level of social awareness (cf. Labov 2001: 279). This principle has been highlighted in a number of studies (Trudgill 1972, Cedergren 1973) and in particular, Haeri (1996) in her study of palatization in Cairo. Labov (2001: 279) describes how the study analysed the palatization of the localised /t/ and the innovation of /d/. Essentially, the study found that women led men in targeting and achieving an innovation when the variant is a change in progress (Haeri 1996: 28). This was highlighted in the higher rates of the innovative ‘weak’ palatization of /d/ apparent in higher-class young female speech, in opposition to the use of /t/ by the males.

Ultimately, in an attempt to juxtapose all three principles, Labov states that the *Gender paradox* shows that:

“Women conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms that are overtly prescribed, but conform less than men when they are not” (2001: 293)

In terms of Darlington English, the aim of the study is to investigate to what extent men and women differ in their phonological patterning and to consider the extent to which the principles of the *Gender paradox* as a whole are reflected in the performance of DE speakers. For the purposes of the present study, it is the binary categorisation (male and female) of ‘sex’ against which the results will be measured: this is discussed further in Chapter 3.

The following section outlines the second intra-community variable of age.

1.1.3 Intra-community variable: age

Age, as a sociolinguistic category, is, as Llamas (2006: 69) notes, “perhaps the least examined and the least understood in sociolinguistic terms”. The history of variationist quantitative sociolinguistic studies has shown that a variety of methodological frameworks are open to the investigator as a means of grouping speakers by age. In light of this, the differences between real and apparent time methodologies, as well as age-grading are considered here. The section also outlines the principles of emic and etic modelling of age, whilst concluding with a rationale by which age will be factored in to the design of the present study.

Studies by Labov (Martha’s Vineyard (1963)/New York City (1966)) and Trudgill (Norwich 1972 & 1988 - see also Macaulay (1978), Kerswill and Williams (1999)) have shown that tracking linguistic use by an individual through the differing stages of life can highlight interesting explanations of individual speakers’ language shifts through time (cf. also Hockett (1950), Hudson (1980), Romaine (1984), Cheshire et al. (1989)). Such linguistic shifts within individual speech are termed *age-grading*.

Age grading, as Horneo et al. (2006: 25) state, is:

“...the change in the use of a variant that recur at a particular age in successive generations. They can be thought of as totally predictable age-related changes that do not affect the language as a whole”.

Therefore, although age-grading is important in regard to the changes in linguistic use of the individual, it does not necessarily precipitate language change within a community. Instead, in an attempt to look at specific linguistic feature changes within a community, and although age-grading has the same affect, sociolinguists have employed a ‘real’ time methodology when investigating speech communities.

A real time methodology investigates instances of linguistic use within a community at different points in time, separated by a set period or generation. Watt (1998: 92) describes such a methodology as ‘snapshots’, showing change in speech across a period of time (exemplified by

Labov's follow-up study in New York City in 1994 following his previous work there in 1966). There are two types of real time study. The first is a *panel study*. This involves surveying the same group of teenage speakers (to continue with Cheshire's example) twenty to thirty years later when they are middle-aged, as a way of investigating whether particular linguistic features have been retained or not. The other form of study is termed a *trend study*. This study examines different, but comparable (by age) speaker groups from the same community, over a period of again, twenty to thirty years (cf. Trudgill 1972 & 1988, Fowler 1986). However, such real time studies are rare within sociolinguistics, as Watt (1998) and Labov (1994) note, due to practical considerations which dictate that generally an 'apparent-time' methodology is used in the majority of sociolinguistic surveys.

In regard to the present study, our concern lies not in age-grading, nor in using a real time methodology, given that the principal aim of the study is to characterise the present state of Darlington English and not to track Darlington English speakers across time. The type of methodology required for the present study would correspond to an 'apparent time' framework. An apparent time methodology examines linguistic forms in age groups of the speech community at a given point in time and is an isolated instance of inquiry into a linguistic community which is *not* re-investigated at a later point in time. Campbell (2004: 220) encapsulates the definition of apparent time change elegantly:

"An apparent time study (by far the most common in sociolinguistics) investigates a linguistic variable at one particular time. To the extent that the variation correlates with age, it is assumed that a change in progress is under way and that the variant most characteristic of older speakers' speech represents the earlier stage and the variant more typical of younger speakers' speech shows what it is changing to."

Apparent time studies thus, are an attempt to take a 'glimpse' into a community with a set of different age groups at any one time. The frequent implementation of apparent time studies is due to the fact that it is rarely possible to undertake large-scale real time studies (Llamas 2006)

such are the logistical impracticalities¹⁰. Such a framework would seem ideal for the present study.

Of further importance to sociolinguists, particularly those implementing an apparent time framework, is the stratification of speakers into a range of suitable age groups. Eckert (1997) describes how studies such as Fowler (1986) and Labov in New York City (1966 & 1972) have shown that grossly combined age figures can mask specific age group effects. Fowler (1986: 157) states that, “because the span of all ages is so great, it is difficult for community studies to achieve *fine grained age differentiation* with any statistical significance”. This, she believes, “necessitates the grouping of speakers into fairly narrow age ranges or *cohorts*”. Cohorts are categorised as being either emic or etic. Groups seen *etically* are speakers who have been placed into equal age span groups. Therefore, as in Trudgill (1972, 1988), categories of age such as 20-30 and 40-50 are used. This idea is reinforced by the use of generational groups within variationist studies, particularly in apparent time frameworks (Watt (1998); Watt and Milroy (1999)). By contrast, speakers seen *emically* are those categorised according to some shared experience of time (cf. Kerswill 1995; Eckert and Rickford 2001). Emically defined age cohorts are seen by Eckert to be four separate periods of life governed by different constraints. This is illustrated in Eckert’s *linguistic life course* shown in table 1.1.2:

¹⁰ However, some studies have attempted to broach both apparent and real time methodologies within the same study. Britain (1992) for example, in his investigation of intonational changes in New Zealand English utilised such an apparent time/real-time format. A comparison was tested across three age groups, 20-29, 40-49 and 70-79. Britain found an increased use of particular patterns of intonation across the generations. He then compared his results with those of a 1966 report (cf. Benton (1966)) centering upon intonation in Maori children: this review gave his study a real-time aspect, in order to examine whether a change in progress was truly in operation. It must be stressed however that the age of the children and the fact that they were of Maori descent, may have skewed the contrast between the 1966 results and those Britain found in 1992. This method is in keeping with Labov’s rationale that one should obtain at least one measurement at some contrasting point in real time (1972: 275). Chapter 3 will assess such a contrast for the present study.

Table 1.1.2: Eckert's linguistic life-course

(1) Childhood (pre-adolescence)	(2) Adolescence	(3) Adulthood	(4) Old adulthood
Governed by school	Governed by school	Work	Retired

Given both emically and etically governed groups, the question arises as to which period of life is most suitable to an apparent time methodology for a variationist study. Bailey (2001) states that:

“researchers should use only adult cohorts in apparent time studies, and even then they must be alert to the possible effects of sociolectal adjustments” (329-330)

Bailey's statement seems moot given Eckert's stance on adolescent speakers, whom she views as being at a “very interesting life stage”, [as they] acquire forms of speech from differing adult speaking groups, teachers, parents, employers and from peers” (2001: 49). Eckert's view of the importance of adolescence to linguistic variation (as the “movers and shakers” of language change (1997: 17)) is echoed by a number of other sociolinguists (cf. especially Kerswill (1996: 198); Chambers (2003: 194)).

Either side of adolescence, two other age cohorts are of interest to sociolinguists: childhood and adulthood. Most variationist work, at least in British English, revolves around the analysis of adult (18-60 years of age (cf. Watt and Milroy 1999)) linguistic use. Eckert (1997: 161), states that quantitative research into early childhood is “quite recent”, citing pivotal studies to the advancement of such work (Roberts (1997), Roberts and Labov (1995); see also Foulkes, Docherty and Watt (2005), Foulkes (2006)). Studies of children have shown that they are very much aware of the link between social behaviour and language variability (Anderson (1991), cf. also Macaulay (1977), Romaine (1984), Kerswill (1996), and Bleses and Ladegaard (2003)). Although children “are also learning to recognise the social significance of different linguistic norms” (Hudson 1986: 15), the precedent has been set by sociolinguists to survey groups of adults, a generation apart, (cf. Eckert and Rickford 2001, Watt and Milroy (1999), Kerswill and

Williams (1999)) in order to investigate patterns of linguistic variation within a specific community. However, change within adulthood and particularly in the speech of males has been found within the literature (Labov 1972, Wolfram 1989, Horvath 1985, Eckert 1997). In their study of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Watt and Milroy (1999) chose to survey two adult groups ((1) 18-27 and (2) 45-60). The choice of the two adult groups was thought to capture a true indication of the linguistic forms found within the Newcastle-upon-Tyne speech community.

Since there are no previous studies of variation in Darlington, it is difficult to build a real time element into the study design, but reference will be made to the SED linguistic samples (taken from the mid 1960s) from four sites surrounding the town that will provide some basis for a real time comparison. Essentially, an apparent time framework will need to be adopted for the present study. From the ‘emic’ view of age stages above, it is evident that for the purposes of the current study, two contrasting groups should be chosen. The variability of adolescent speech may not produce a true indication as to the stable variants which make up Darlington’s linguistic inventory. The choice of two emically defined age cohorts within adulthood, separated by one generation is also one that best suits the study (as in Watt and Milroy (1999)). For the present study therefore, the proposed age sampling is composed of:

- an apparent time study
- two age sample groups
- age groups separated by a generational ‘gap’
- both age groups being within “adult” age parameters

The structure and detailing of age sample groups are shown in 3.2. With the examination of age related sociolinguistic results complete, and with the specifics of the stratification for the present study projected, 1.1.4 considers the possible impact of ethnicity on the speech community of Darlington.

1.1.4 Intra-community variable: ethnicity

Ethnicity, in sociolinguistic terms, has been identified as “one of the main factors that correlates with linguistic variation” (Laferriere 1979). This has certainly been the case in studies carried out

in the United States (Wolfram (1989), (2003); Dubois and Horvath (1998), (1999); Fought (2003); Mendoza-Denton (1997), (2002)). In Britain, sociolinguistic studies have increasingly sought to investigate the impact of ethnic diversity on patterns of linguistic variation (Heselwood & McChrystal (2000), Khatib (2002), Fox (2004), see also Khan (2008) - in his study of ethnic communities in Birmingham, and Kerswill et al (2008)). Consistently, ethnic studies are highlighting different linguistic patterns and trends in sociophonetic variation within urban communities (cf. Stuart-Smith et al (2010) and the investigation into second-generation Asian speakers in the city of Glasgow, Scotland).

In Darlington, the ethnic make-up of the town differs substantially from that of most other larger urban speech communities within Britain. Council records state that in 1951 only 208 inhabitants of the town (from a total of over 80,000) were born outside the British Isles. Present-day records taken from the council web-site¹¹ highlight Darlington's 'ethnic groups' to be largely in line with the surrounding urban areas in the North-East. Indeed, Darlington's population of 98,686 (taken from 2001 Census records: two years before the field work for the present study¹²) comprised 97.9% 'White British', leaving 2.1% or around 2000 inhabitants, who are not non-white British¹³. Fairly similar figures are seen in two other North-Eastern areas (93.7% 'white British' in Middlesbrough and 93.1% found in Newcastle-upon-Tyne¹⁴, although in Berwick-on-Tweed, Pichler (2008) states that the 'white British' community make up 99.9% of this North-Eastern population).

With ethnicity becoming an increasingly more prominent social factor in British sociolinguistics, it may therefore be interesting to explore in Darlington, especially given the recent population

¹¹ Taken from www.darlington.gov.uk

¹² Taken from www.darlington.gov.uk

¹³ It is noteworthy that since the subject selection and elicitation of data for the present study, and since employment restrictions within the EU were lifted two years ago (2006), a large community of migrant workers are present in the town at the time of writing (2008). This is based mainly of Polish workers whose numbers in the town are thought to be around 2000-3000, although no definitive local records are available at present to corroborate this – our interest however, is in L1 speakers of English and from speakers who have lived in the town for the duration of their life. A large Polish community has established itself to the north of the town.

¹⁴ It is worth noting that ethnicity was not investigated as a factor in previous studies of Middlesbrough (Llamas 1998, 2001) or Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Watt 1998, Watt and Milroy 1999)

movement within Europe¹⁵. However, the scale of the ethnic ‘mix’ in the town outlined above leads us not to focus on this construct in the present study.

1.1.5 Intra-community variable: social class

The intra-community variable of social class is the most problematic to define. The assessment of social class within sociolinguistic research involves both objective measures (ranging from level of income, level of education) and more subjective ones (for example, life-style and house type). Although this discussion will draw attention to a range of different social class methodologies implemented over the past five decades, there is no sociolinguistic ‘blue-print’ available to us: thus what works in one area, may not in another. The amalgam of objective and subjective measures in relation to sociolinguistic treatment of social class is indicative of the contrast between social ‘class’ and social ‘status’. Both terms are deep-rooted within sociological research stemming from Marxism on the one hand (‘class’) and the work of Max Weber (‘status’) on the other. Weber extended Karl Marx’s vision of social structure as a reflection of an individual’s position in respect of means of production, giving the binary groups of the capitalist and proletariat. Weber’s theory noted greater complexity in modern societies, proposing that subjects in a ‘middle class’ may or may not be linked to capital or property. Both Weber and Marx proposed class was based upon “objectively given economic conditions” (Giddens 1989: 284). Giddens states that divisions within classes “derived not only from control or lack of control of the means of production, but from economic differences which have nothing to do with property” (ibid). Crucially, Weber observed factors which resulted in differences in economic status, such as education and differences in skills or qualifications. In addition, Weber noted ‘*styles of life*’ such as ‘housing’, ‘dress’ and ‘manner of speech’ as also being integral to the ‘status’ of an individual. This stance is echoed in modern-day sociology by Halsey (1995: 31), who distinguishes between ‘status’ and ‘class’:

“...*classes* are formed socially out of the division of labours, {whilst} *status* is

¹⁵ Given the fact that countries such as Hungary and especially Poland have recently joined the EU, allowing entry to the UK for employment purposes

formed out of the no less fundamental tendency of human beings to attach positive and negative values to human attributes and to distribute respect or honour and contempt or derogation accordingly.”

Halsey’s definitions of both ‘class’ and ‘status’ suggest that (a) class is dependent upon income and occupation (i.e. an economic concept), whilst (b) status relies upon a shared life-style and prestige within a social group of people (i.e. an evaluative concept). However, Thompson (1963) believes class is an amalgam of both definitions outlined by Halsey, stating:

“...when we speak of a class, we are thinking of a very loosely defined body of people who share the same congeries of interests, social experiences, traditions and value systems, who have a ‘*disposition to behave*’ as a class, to define themselves in their actions and in their consciousness in relation to other groups of people in class ways” (Thompson 1963: 939)

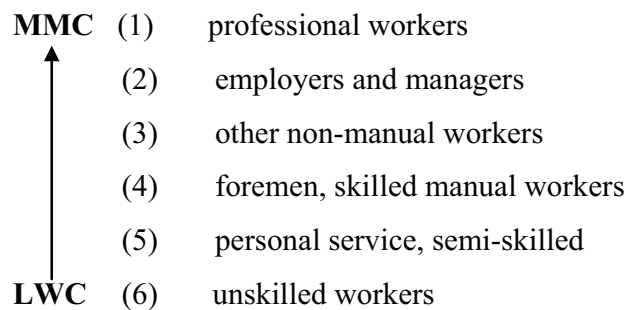
Thus, it is not only Thompson’s “shared congeries of interests, traditions and values” which constitute the definition of a class, but also certain shared social elements which are implemented in order to create ‘class’ divisions.

William Labov successfully used speakers from three separate social classes in his 1966 study of New York City speech. Labov, agreed with Thompson’s rationale, combining both notions of class and status. Indeed Labov, as Kerswill (2006: 4) explains, championed the approach taken by functionalist sociology¹⁶; in particular the notion that occupation affects speakers’ social ties in such a way that their social experience is both moulded and restricted by them (Labov (2006) cites Durkheim (1893) for further reading). Specifically, Labov (1994) states that social mobility is derived from a comparison between the speaker’s occupation and his or her parents’ occupation. Thus, occupational groups overlap with status groups which share similar prestige and life-styles (cf. Kerswill (2006); Bedisti 2004 and Morrison 1995)). Both Labov (1990) and Macaulay (1977) use occupation *solely* as an indicator of class, with Labov arguing that occupation, at least in variationist studies, correlates best with linguistic variation. However, the use of occupation as a sole indicator of class was not the case in Labov’s landmark study of /r/ in

¹⁶ Functionalist sociolinguists see divisions of class, as Milroy and Gordon (2003: 96) describe, “as a group of persons sharing occupations and incomes, life-styles and beliefs”.

New York City in 1966. Instead, Labov used a three point indicator, incorporating (1) education, (2) occupation and (3) income in order to categorise three ‘classes’. Trudgill extended this approach in 1972. His study of Norwich incorporating a six-tier categorisation scored class using a ratio scale from 0-5. The six tiers were: (1) occupation (2) father’s occupation (3) income (4) education (5) locality and (6) housing. In (1), Trudgill produced an occupational scale outlining six types of workers against categories of ‘class’; this is shown in figure 1.1.2:

Figure 1.1.2: Trudgill’s ‘Occupational Scale’



Both (1) and (2) of the six overall tiers (occupation and father’s occupation) were attained easily and ranked. Tiers (3) and (4) created problems in selecting ranges within which speakers could choose their individual range from the number given. Locality (5) was based upon the author’s knowledge of the city, highlighting areas of prosperity against those which were not. Finally, housing (6) was classified using three factors: (1) house ownership (2) age of house (3) building type. Trudgill realised a minimum (3) to maximum (26) score range using this scale. Given what he terms a “social class index”, Trudgill then categorised the speakers into groups based on this index. A total of five groups was arrived at, labelled middle middle class (MMC), lower middle class (LMC), upper working class (UWC), middle working class (MWC) and lower working class (LWC), shown above in figure 1.1.2. Although intensely detailed, Trudgill’s classification of social class is important to the present study, given the number of other factors used in order to classify it (factors which are explored in Chapter 3).

One point of discussion from the description of Trudgill's division of social 'class' is the change in categorisation of 'class' since his 1972 Norwich study. Trudgill's categorisation can be seen as a 'child of its time' in respect to the lack of ethnicity in provincial urban areas of the 1970s.

Modern-day urban centres have more complex ethnic make-ups with immigration from abroad¹⁷, as well as in-migration within Britain, although as we learned above, Darlington is an exception. Coupled with this, there has been a sharp increase in mobility and a 'levelling-out' of the class-based differentiation since the point at which Trudgill gathered his recordings. In recent years, increased mobility, level of education and income of the upper working class group has been noted in a number of studies (cf. especially Watt 1998) as creating a great deal of social 'cross-over' with lower middle class groups.

Quantification and evaluation of "social class" for the subjects within these previous studies was achieved by fine-grained categorisation, incorporating levels of income, occupation and education. In terms of the present study, in order to ease the difficulty in categorisation of social 'class', and in line with the procedure adopted in a number of recent studies of phonological variation in the UK (Watt and Milroy (1999) and Kerswill and Williams (1999)), it was decided to sample speakers from two neighbourhoods which differ in regard to certain socio-economic indicators. Subjects will be identified as being either (a) working class (WC), or (b) middle class (MC). Both are indicative of two groups within the speech community which are clearly differentiated by a number of socio-economic indicators.

The following section now turns to a discussion of the two micro-level frameworks used in variationist studies.

1.2 Micro-level community-based approaches

From the framework in figure 1.1.1, the following section outlines the micro-level sociolinguistic frameworks of (a) social networks and (b) community of practice. In 1.2.1, social networks, an

¹⁷ Applications for asylum to the UK alone have risen from 24,605 in 1992 to 80,315 in 2000 – this is expected to rise three-fold by 2010 (Migration Watch UK).

analysis focusing on how individuals are tied to other individuals via social relationships, are considered. The discussion considers how social networks have been integrated into sociolinguistic studies. Section 1.2.2 details ‘community of practice’ outlining how this model has highlighted patterns and trends in sociolinguistic studies.

1.2.1 Micro-level approach: social networks

The term ‘social network’ was first coined by J.A Barnes (1954) in his sociological study of a Norwegian island parish community. Barnes (1954: 3) suggests that a social network is:

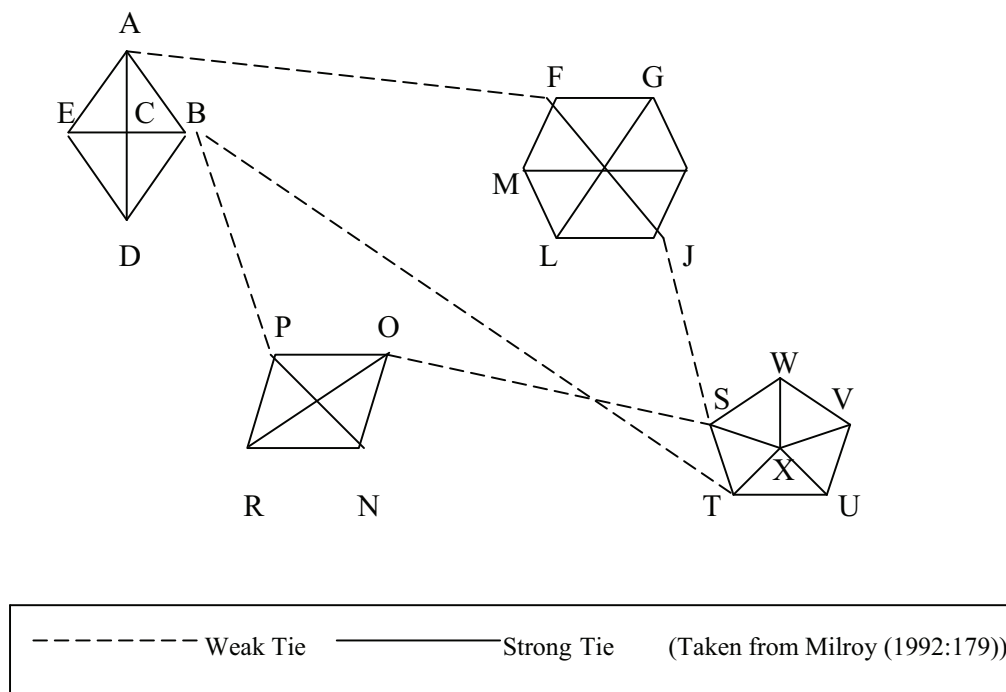
“...a social structure made of nodes which are generally individuals or organisations (...) indicating the ways in which they are connected through various social familiarities ranging from casual acquaintance to close familial bonds”.

Social network theory, from its conception, has been used as a key technique in a number of disciplines, such as modern sociology, anthropology, social psychology and geography. Social network theory entered the domain of sociolinguistics in the late 1970s, when it was used as a framework to investigate speaker variation in British Isles English in the study of Belfast by Lesley and James Milroy. This study is reviewed briefly below. Following this study, social network analysis has also been implemented successfully in other sociolinguistic studies (cf. Gal (1980), Gumperz (1982), Lippi-Green (1989), Putz (1991), Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999) and more recently by Raschka et al (2002) amongst the British-born Chinese community in Newcastle-upon-Tyne).

The fundamental tenet of social network theory, according to Mitchell (1986: 74), is that individuals create personal communities to provide a meaningful framework for solving the problems of daily life. Social network theory views social relationships between individuals in terms of ‘nodes’ and ‘ties’. Nodes are the individual actors within the social networks, whilst ‘ties’ are indicative of the relationships between these actors. The key concept of the social network model is measuring the strength both between and within these networks (Milroy (1992: 66)). This is calculated by classifying what Mitchell (1986) terms “morphological features” deeming whether networks are dense (i.e. containing strong ties), or loose (i.e. containing weak

ties between speakers). Networks can either be simplex, linking a small number of subjects; or multiplex, in which there is not only a large linking of subjects, but complexity within the connections between each of the subjects. Both weak and strong ties are incorporated within two further categories: first order network ties (a person's direct contacts) and second order ties (person's indirect links)¹⁸. Figure 1.2.1 highlights a multiplex social network, displaying weak and strong ties between speakers:

Figure 1.2.1: A dense, multiplex social network



In figure 1.2.1, four dense networks exist. From these four dense networks, weak ties are apparent. For example, speaker A has dense ties to speakers B, C, D and E whilst having a weak tie to speaker F. Speaker B, in the same dense network as A, also has weak ties to speakers 'P' and 'T'.

¹⁸ cf. Milroy J. (1992) for a more detailed discussion of social networks.

Within sociolinguistic and variationist work, specifically since Labov's work in New York City in 1966, sampling of speakers had been largely conducted through macro-level analyst constructs (see 1.1.1). This categorisation had become, in the opinion of Milroy and Gordon (2003: 116), "remarkably consistent in revealing sociolinguistic patterns amongst specific speaker groups". However, the introduction of social networks gives linguists an opportunity to draw out patterns relating to individual speakers. Milroy (1992) stresses the use of social networks within variationist work as "a better means of capturing the dynamics underlying speakers' variable language behaviour". Interestingly, Tabouret-Keller and Le Page (1985: 116) place more importance on the social networks and social analysis of the individual, rather than the study of social 'class', as being more suitable for sociolinguistic analysis:

"Networks are a means of defining social units with which to correlate kinds of linguistic behaviour. They are a more satisfactory alternative to (...) social or economic or other groups."

Thus, according to Tabouret-Keller and Le-Page (1985), variability in linguistic behaviour is highlighted more easily by tracing the social links of the individual to other individuals as opposed to cohorts of speakers categorised by socio-economic class. The theoretical implications of macro-level analysis and the use of social networks in community studies are juxtaposed by Labov:

"There are clear advantages to the study of groups as opposed to isolated individuals. Studies of people in their social networks allow us to record them speaking with the people they usually speak to – friends, family and work associates. Since most random samples of speech communities concentrate on individuals, one must reconstruct hypothetical networks that surround these individuals to interpret their behaviour." (Labov 2001: 326).

In addition to these points, Labov, in comparison to community studies, views the sample size of social network analysis studies as the main disadvantage. As he explains, "the best network studies *must* fall short of the hypothetical goal [of massive individual social network community sampling], due to the fact that "most of them are devoted to one or two isolated groups of a dozen speakers or so" (Labov 2001: 326).

The majority of social network investigation within sociolinguistics is an extension of the work deploying wider macro-level based studies (cf. Bell (1984), Preston (1989), Eckert and McConnell Ginet (1999)). Principally, variationist studies of the effects of ‘class’, age, sex and ethnicity have highlighted patterns and trends within speakers of a certain community¹⁹. These communities have then been the object of social network analysis (cf. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999), Labov (1972)).

While the debate around the value of this sort of approach continues, the main findings of sociolinguistic studies which have implemented the social network model are widely accepted, namely:

- members of networks with *greater density*, *multiplexity* and *strong ties* will maintain localised linguistic norms more vigorously than others
- Speakers with more connections to other groups and weaker ties will be under more influence from the more mobile surrounding society in their speech

These two findings arose in Belfast English (Milroy and Milroy (1978), Milroy (1980)). The Belfast study investigated three low-status, working class communities: Ballymacarrett, Hammer and Clonard. From the three communities, 46 speakers were examined assessing eight phonological variables, which were “clearly indexical of the Belfast urban speech community” (Milroy (1980: 16)). All three communities were traditional, long established communities with dense, multiplex and kin-based or familial networks, displaying minimal amounts of social mobility (ibid).

The Belfast study implemented a ‘Network Strength Scale’ (drawing parallels with Trudgill’s ‘socio-economic scale’). The scale ranged from 0 to 5 including one measure of density

¹⁹ Indeed, Labov (2001: 327) himself states that the linguistic significance of social network data is at its greatest when: (1) Previous studies have identified the major linguistic variables of the wider community and traced their patterns of stylistic and social variation. Social class, age, gender, and ethnicity will continue to explain the greatest part of the variance. (2) All members of the group share the same social history in terms of residence and dialect contact. When they do not, the effect of these differences in social history must be accounted for by wider studies of the type indicated in (1).

(membership in a high density, territorially based cluster) and four measures of multiplexity all within the neighbourhood: these were (1) kinship, (2) workmates, (3) workmates of the same sex and (4) leisure time spent with workmates (cf. Milroy (1980: 141-2)). Speakers earned a single point for each of the following criteria:

- being members of a high-density, territorially-based group (e.g. a football team)
- having kinship ties with more than two households in the neighbourhood
- working in the same place as at least two others from the neighbourhood
- working in the same place as at least two others of the same sex from the neighbourhood
- associating voluntarily with workmates in leisure hours

Milroy (1980: 145) noted in her results that the strongest vernacular speakers “were generally those whose neighbourhood network ties were the strongest”. However, the patterns were complicated by the intra-community variables of age and sex. Both L. Milroy (1980) and J. Milroy (1992) noted network scores were higher in men than in women. The difference in sex was highlighted in the results for [δ] production in word medial position (for example ‘*other*’ [uδə] becomes [ud□ə]) highlighted in 1.1.2 above.

Even though Milroy highlighted this trend in male and female speech through a ‘social network’ methodology, Labov (2001:333) criticises the overall structure of the Belfast study and the role of networks within variationist studies as a whole. Principally, Labov questions the sample size of 46 speakers, arguing that a greater sample of speakers would have plausibly given a more extensive interaction among the variables (2001: 333). Essentially, Labov’s dissatisfaction with the Milroys’ total of 46 speakers was due to the fact that he believed the figure insufficient to “yield a clear view of the intersection of age, gender, neighbourhood and network, given the extensive interaction among these variables” (ibid). Although 46 subjects seems, to judge from many other studies, to be sufficient for a variationist study, Labov believes that such a figure, using a social network framework would not be adequate given the fact that three

neighbourhoods were surveyed. Labov notes that an investigation of only low status, working class Belfast communities was certainly a limitation²⁰.

The question of sample-size in sociolinguistic studies is interesting to note given the different range of views apparent as to what number suits these studies in order to gain effective insights into language variation and change. Neumann (1997: 222) indicates 300 subjects for a small population of less than 1000 would be suitable, whilst 1500 would be sufficient for an area of 150,000 people or more. However, Sankoff (1980: 51-2) believes community samples of more than 150 individuals “tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data-handling problems with diminishing analytical returns”. The Survey of English Dialects (Orton and Dieth 1963) on the other hand, as Foulkes (2003: 2) states, relied mainly on one informant per location. This resulted, Foulkes suggests, in “rather limited opportunities to assess dialect-internal variation, and limit the extent of generalisations one can make”. Generally, some form of sampling ‘middle-ground’ is used in variationist studies. In both US and UK, seminal sociolinguistic studies, Labov’s New York City study (1966) and Trudgill in Norwich (1972), used 88 and 60 subjects respectively. However, bearing in mind the differing social classes, age groups, as well as both sexes, this suggests that in order to produce a sample representative of a specific area, as Milroy and Gordon (2003: 29) state, means “we are obliged (...) to subdivide an already small sample.” Recent urban British English variationist studies (Kerswill and Williams (1999), Watt and Milroy (1999)) use 32 subjects. Foulkes (2003: 2) notes that from a total of 32 subjects, “the three social parameters [age, sex and class] results in eight cells (giving) four speakers per cell of the design”. This, he suggests, is “the usual minimum” of speakers per cell in order to gain results which do not increase data-handling problems or raise issues of linguistic redundancy (Foulkes cites Sankoff (1980) for further discussion on this subject).

In conclusion, quite apart from the macro-level analyst constructs of age, sex, ethnicity and ‘class’ in which individuals are broadly categorised into groups, social networks place the emphasis upon the individual’s ‘personal community’. In terms of the present study, our problem in implementing the social network framework lies in the apparent limitations of the framework

²⁰ Although, if the Milroys’ original aims of the Belfast study were simply to investigate low status speech, the use of 46 subjects and social networks would be vindicated.

itself. Specifically, the social network approach is essentially a follow-up to an area which has been previously surveyed: Darlington has not. The third community-based approach of ‘community of practice’ is outlined in 1.2.2.

1.2.2 Micro-level approach: Community of Practice

Although belonging to the same arm of ‘micro-level’ analysis as social network, an analysis based around the concept of a community of practice (CofP) differs from social network analysis in its study. The notion of community of practice was introduced into sociolinguistics by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) for the purposes of language and gender research. Their study was influenced by the previous work of educationalists Lave and Wenger (1991; Wenger 1998)). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet define ‘community of practice’ as:

“...an aggregation of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short – practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavour²¹”.

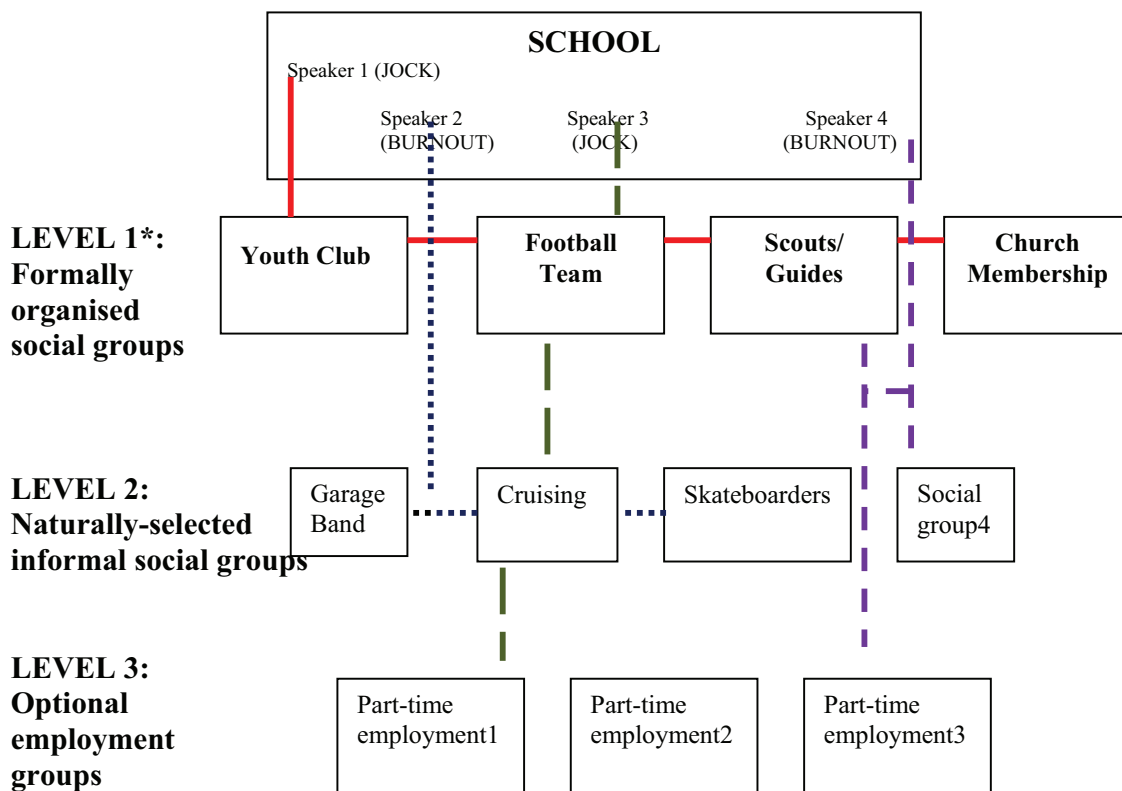
The implementation of community of practice by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (and later in Eckert’s solo study on the language variation among Detroit adolescents in 2000) was, according to Milroy and Gordon (2003:118), designed to uncover the “interactional sites where social meaning is most clearly indexed by language, and where language variation and social meaning are co-constructed” (cf. also Mullany (2006)). The communities of practice are defined by the shared practice in which their members are involved (Eckert (2000)) and may be ‘core’ or ‘peripheral’, depending on levels of integration within that shared practice. As Mullany (2006) states, members may be “core” or “peripheral” depending on “levels of integration”. Thus, Communities of Practice are not defined by external factors, but are, as Denham and Lobeck (2009: 416) “defined by speakers’ sense of membership and active participation in a group”. As with the previous section on social networks, the following section examines a case study within the sociolinguistic literature.

²¹ This definition draws obvious comparisons to that of Wenger (1998: 7), “...a group of individuals participating in communal activity and experiencing/continuously creating their shared identity through engaging in and contributing to the practices of their communities”. Wenger (1998) expanded upon her earlier work with Jean Lave, creating a 14 point ‘community of practice’ indication scale (1998 125-6).

1.2.3 Eckert's 'Jocks' versus 'Burnouts' study in Detroit

By far the most prominent example of Community of Practice study with sociolinguistic is Penelope Eckert's study of Belten High School, in the Neartown suburb of Detroit, Michigan (1989a), and with McConnell-Ginet (1999)). The study uses two groups in hegemonic opposition to each other, emerging as a result of the school's institutional structure. The first group the *Jocks*, are a group who, if we equate this to social 'class' values, possess typical MC values and whose CofP is school-oriented. The other group, the *Burnouts*, from typical WC backgrounds and have locally-focused CofPs; thus, interests outside of school-based activities. Figure 1.2.2 highlights typical CofPs for 'Jocks' and 'Burnouts':

Figure 1.2.2: 'Jocks' versus 'Burnouts': typical levels of integration for Detroit adolescents



*** Levels 1-3: Typical groups open to the different teenage speakers**

From figure 1.2.2, we can see that speaker 1 (the Jock) has typical group membership extending from formally-based school groups such as youth club and the football team. On the other hand, speaker 2 (the burnout) has no ties to organized groups and instead mixes with local groups involved in skateboarding and ‘cruising’.

Thus, in the study, Eckert has two polarised groups, socially (WC versus MC) and through sex (male and female). However, unlike a typical speech community study, Eckert stresses that such social factors should not be considered as separate entities in the CofP methodology, rather as co-constructs which go to make up the CofP:

“...ultimately, categories such as age, class, gender and ethnicity are produced and reproduced in their differential terms of participation in Communities of Practice. These categories are not produced separately, but co-produced.” (2000: 46)

Eckert assesses linguistic change within the study and how the different CofPs in each case affect vowel use; moreover, how the vowel features of the Northern Cities Shift are affected²². Eckert’s study involved a large amount of students (several hundred) having first completed in-depth social network surveys on each student. Thus, Eckert’s CofP study was in fact born out of a social network framework. As Labov (2001: 432) states, this involved long-term observations in “hallways, courtyards and environs of the school”. The complexity of Eckert’s work (detailed ethnographic work based on several hundred subjects in differing social situations) is one not typical of CofP in sociolinguistics in which a small number of subjects is usually the norm (cf. Mendoza-Denton (1997), (2002) and Meyerhoff and Corder (2007)). Indeed, Meyerhoff and Corder (2007) surveyed a female football team of eleven players in contrast to a similarly sized female social group in the USA. Such a study highlighted similarities in structure to Eckert’s *Jocks* (female football team) and *Burnouts* (female social group), but on a much smaller scale.

One CofP Eckert focused on was that of *cruising*. This involved driving from the suburbs where the subjects lived into and around the ‘urban’ district of Detroit. This was mainly a ‘burnout’ practice, but did engender some interesting results. It was seen that those who were involved in

²² The Northern Cities Shift involves a number of northern US cities and the changes in a number of vowels (ʌ), (e), (ay), etc. For full discussion, particularly of patterns in Philadelphian speech cf. Labov (2001).

‘cruising’ showed a significantly higher use of urban varieties than those who did not. This is seen in four of the results in table 1.2.1 where significance is achieved when $p < .05$:

Table 1.2.1: Relation between use of urban variables and participation in cruising among white Detroit suburban adolescents (from Eckert (2000))

	Cruisers	Non-Cruisers	sig
(uh) backing	.563	.458	.000
(e) backing	.544	.464	.029
(ay) raising	.765	.381	.000
negative concord	.777	.294	.000

Consistently, the ‘cruisers’ use of urban varieties are higher than those of the ‘non-cruisers’ and this proves to be statistically significant throughout the results, particularly in the results for ‘negative concord’, (uh) backing and (ay) raising. However, as Chambers (1995: 488) suggests, *cruising* represents a literal vehicle for the transmission of urban change from the city to the suburbs, it is a constraining issue among girls”. In many cases, *cruising* was seen as a slight on a girl’s reputation and many Jock girls, according to Eckert (1989a: 57) were “forbidden” to be involved in it. Therefore, the urban varieties seen in the table above were significantly marked by the girls whereas they were actively promoted by the boys (and in particular the ‘burnout’ boys).

Although Eckert was intent on suggesting that in CofP frameworks age, sex, ethnicity and class all run synchronously within a particular practice, her study highlighted interesting general sex and social ‘class’ results in regard to the features of the Northern Cities Shift. In particular, the most recently noted ‘shift’, the backing of /e/ and /ʌ/ **showed** *no* gender effect at all, but was led by the (typically WC) burnouts. Furthermore, Labov (2001: 433) suggests that females are well ahead of the males in raising of /ae/, fronting of /o/ and lowering of /oh/.

Eckert’s study is perhaps not typical of a CofP approach given the high numbers of subjects employed. However, her implementation of two socially different ‘practices’ both within and outside school highlights yet another methodology available to the sociolinguist for the

elicitation of data and have motivated similar studies within American sociolinguistics (cf. particularly Bucholtz's survey of 'Nerd' girls and 'Cool' girls in Bay City High School, California (1999)).

The use of CofP by Eckert in order to survey linguistic use has motivated an increasing number of UK-based studies in sociolinguistics. Moore's study (partly under the supervision of Eckert) of a group of teenage girls in a Bolton High School (2003) highlighted significant differences in use of negative concord, tag questions and the nonstandard *were*, across different groups within the school. Similarly, Lawson (2009), whose study of males within a Glasgow Academy school²³ accessed four communities of practice and reported on three linguistic features (BIT and CAT vowels, as well as the interdental fricative (θ)). Lawson's results highlighted that, with the use of acoustic analysis, CofP was closely correlated with vowel height, with one particular CofP typically lower than the other four groups. For (θ), there were differences in realisations in word initial position across the CofPs, with the same group (the 'Neds') typically the most non-standard speakers within the sample, using the local Glasgow marked variants of [h] and [f] primarily.

The notion of community of practice is essentially in the same mould as that of social networks (and as we noted in Eckert's case, often arises from previous social network survey work), given the ethnographic nature of its methodology, with the individual, rather than the group at its centre. As with social networks, it is perhaps best equipped to be applied in relatively small-scale studies given the immense detail involved in categorising an individual's 'shared practices'. As Mullany (2006: 89) states, community of practice "pays too much attention to the complexities of specific situations at the expense of being able to make broader observations concerning more than a handful of subjects".

The following section assesses language ideology within the field of sociolinguistics.

²³ Lawson (2009) flags-up the relative paucity of CofP studies solely involving males, quoting Kiesling (1997) as one of only a few.

1.3 Language ideology

The relationship between linguistic use and group membership in connection to the notion of place is pertinent to the field of ‘language ideology’. Language ideologies or attitudes to different linguistic varieties underpin, as Garrett (2003: 12) state, “all manners of sociolinguistic and social psychological phenomena”. Silverstein (1979: 193) describes language ideology as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use”. In addition, language ideology is underpinned by social identity, which as Llamas (2007), quoting Silverstein (1992), explains is “a system for making sense of the indexicality inherent in language: how language forms index speakers’ social identities”.

This indexicality of language is divided into two different orders. Macaulay and Fought (2004: 120) describe both first and second orders of indexicality as:

First order indexicality: “...entails the association by social actors of a linguistic form of variety, with some meaningful social group, such as female, working class etc.”

Second order indexicality: “...is a metapragmatic concept describing the noticing, discussion and rationalization of these first order indexicalities”. Macaulay and Fought (ibid) suggest that it is these second order indexicalities which emerge as ‘language ideologies’.

Certain linguistic forms will therefore inherit an association to a specific social group. Eckert (2008: 1) extends this by stating that “instead a constellation of ideologically related meanings (is evident), any one of which can be activated in the situated use of a linguistic variable”. These social groups emerge, Milroy (2001) suggests, “from specific local and social circumstance”. Furthermore, groups using particular linguistic forms in light of this social awareness form similar ‘locally relevant identities’ (LRI – a term coined originally by Silverstein (1992)). These LRIs act as linguistic boundaries, thus ensuring that a ‘Darlingtonian’ is differentiated from a

‘Teessider’ in his/her linguistic performance or use²⁴. This notion of local relevant identities is examined in Chapter 6.

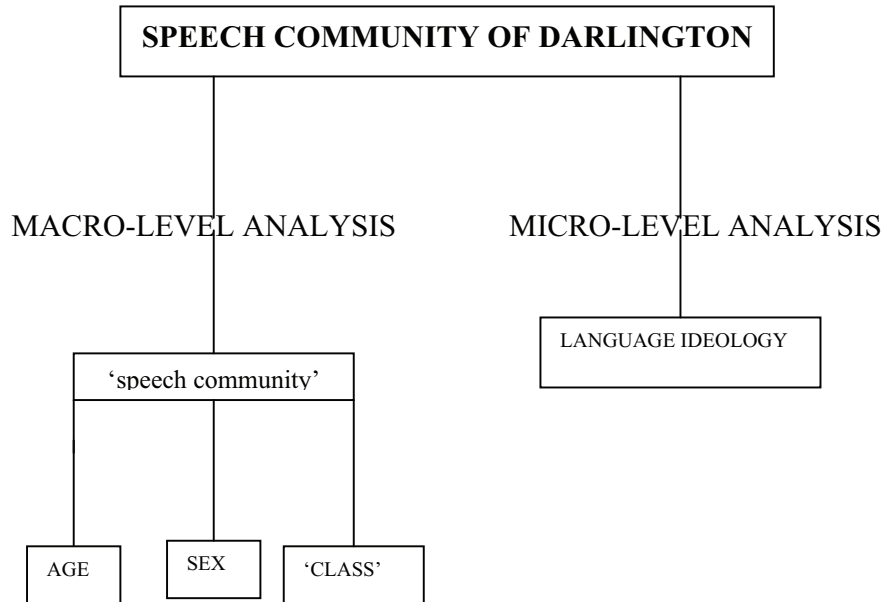
Increasingly, sociolinguistic work (Llamas (1998), (2001) & (2006), Burbano-Elizondo (2008), Dyer (2000), Pichler (2005), (2008)) has aimed at presenting a language ideology framework incorporating speakers’ own comments about language and other social factors at play within a particular location. As Llamas (2006: 5) explains, this framework is used “as a means of interpreting and understanding linguistic variation in the community, thus allowing insight into social psychological motivations for sociolinguistic differences which may be otherwise inaccessible to the analyst.” Thus, this form of investigation is different in terms of our understanding of how Darlington English operates rather than using the frameworks of social networks and communities of practice, although it does complement these other approaches.

With the implementation of an ‘Identities Questionnaire’ (IdQ (cf. 3.3) – a similar format for which is implemented in Llamas (2001), Dyer (2000), Pichler (2005), Burbano-Elizondo (2008)), the present study aims to illuminate the link between language use in Darlington with the “social psychological motivations” suggested by Silverstein (1992). The IdQ examines both accent and regional identity of Darlington English speakers, paying particular attention to DE speakers’ affiliations to specific North Eastern areas that surround the town.

Thus, the design adopted in the present study uses both a macro- and a micro- approach to data collection. The study, whilst implementing the traditionalist ‘top-down’ speech community framework, using macro-level analyst constructs of age, sex and ‘class’, will also assess individual variation and ideology, typical of a micro-level ‘bottom-up’ approach, as can be seen in figure 1.3.1:

²⁴ Trudgill (2000: 77) discusses the fact that North-Easterners are aware that a speaker is from the ‘North-East’, but each North-eastern accent differs in a certain way which is easily recognisable to the listener. However, someone not from the ‘North-East’ would perhaps not determine these differences and tag the speaker as a ‘Geordie’ perhaps: “...there remain distinct differences within all these areas – no-one from Middlesbrough would mistake a Tynesider for someone from Teesside – but the accents are similar enough to be grouped together and sufficiently different from those of other areas. Londoners might mistakenly think that Middlesbrough speakers are from Newcastle, but they would be less likely to think that they were from Sheffield.”

Figure 1.3.1: Methodological structure of the present study of Darlington English



1.4 Conclusions

The discussion above assessed how the implementation of macro- and micro-level categorisations in variationist studies has influenced sociolinguistic findings. It highlighted how the speech community framework deploys social parameters such as age, sex, 'class' and ethnicity to provide broad groups of speakers capable of producing large numbers of quantifiable data. With their greater focus on the individual, micro-level community study approaches such as social networks and community of practice are consistently used in sociolinguistics in order to assess language change.

In light of the discussion of macro- and micro-level frameworks, the 'speech community' approach was chosen as the most suitable way of capturing the effects of language variation and change in Darlington, a location which has not been investigated sociolinguistically in the past.

Finally, the concept of language ideology was outlined. Given the need to gain insight into the opinions and attitudes of Darlington English speakers a method which tapped into language identity was required.

1.5 Theoretical issues of language variation and change

Section 1.1 highlighted how the ‘speech community’ was viewed by sociolinguists as well as how the speech community may be interpreted and analysed. The section showed how intra-community variables such as age, sex and ‘class’ have highlighted language variation and change within variationist studies. Although these intra-community variables are invaluable to the present study in assessing which speaker groups are associated with language variation and change, such variables do not necessarily tell the whole story as to why a dialect may vary or change. The section introduces factors such as dialect levelling, accommodation and accent divergence and convergence, brought about by the social mobility and dialect contact of the individual. The discussion begins by examining how sociolinguists assess language variation and change.

1.5.0 Variation: the variable as a linguistic unit

“...one of the primary purposes of language acquisition is to permit social interaction, developing an awareness of the social meanings of linguistic variants and an ability to adapt one’s use of variant forms according to situation and the perceived social characteristics of one’s conversational partner(s) is as essential as any other aspect of language competence (Hymes 1971; Roberts and Labov 1995; Roberts 2002; Foulkes et al. 2005).”

Taken from Watt (2006: 6), this quote suggests that certain variants in speech carry different social messages. The choice of these variants depends on (a) the situation in which an individual finds him/herself in regard to their conversational partner and (b) whether the individual is able to adapt his/her performance to their audience. For a linguistic variable to exist, two or more distinct but linguistically equal variants must be apparent in its realisation (Guy 1993, Milroy, Milroy & Docherty 1997, Watt 2006). The principal interest in the present study is with phonological variables and with the different accentual pronunciations of the same sound, rather

than morphological or syntactic variation. Phonological variables are either discrete or continuous. Continuous variation involves *no* clear boundaries among the variants with the variants of a variable existing along a phonetic continuum (Gordon (2006: 20)). In discrete variation, phonetic variants represent distinct alternatives. Thus for the variable (h)²⁵ the binary categorisation of absent ([Ø]) or present ([h]) are used. Whilst continuous and discrete variables show obvious differences, from the point of view of quantitative scoring in sociolinguistic studies, most studies use discrete variants which are observed and counted (discrete variants are used extensively in vocalic acoustic analysis, for example when recording formant frequencies (F₁, F₂ etc) for these sounds).

Once a variable (the phonetic sound comprising a range of variants) is isolated and its variants for the particular dialect have been noted, the next step for the sociolinguist is to measure the use of the variable and the variants which make it up. This may be assessed by (a) auditory analysis, in which the number of occurrences of each variant is calculated by simply listening to the recordings; and/or (b) instrumental analysis, by using a spectrographic analysis of an acoustic signal (Gordon 2006). The rationale behind the identification of phonological variants for the present study is outlined in 3.2. Importantly, when identifying the number of variants, it should, as Milroy and Gordon (2003: 137) state, “proceed in accordance with the *principle of accountability*’.” This principle states that “the analysts should not select from a text those variants of a variable that tend to confirm their argument, and ignore others that do not” (ibid). The value of the sociolinguistic variable in language research, as Watt (2006: 6) states, is “in its potential for quantifying patterns of variation.” Watt (ibid) extends this:

“...we can, that is, count how often a particular form occurs and express that frequency as a proportion of the total number of occasions on which the form *could have* occurred, even if it did not”

²⁵ When parentheses are employed, the variable (for example (er) is a sociolinguistic one, which in turn is, as Gordon (2006: 20) states, “isomorphic” with those in forward brackets (i.e / er /). When examining a sociolinguistic variable, for example (er), the phonological variants of this variable are notated using square brackets ([]): therefore, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for the variable (er), the variants are [e:], [ɪə] and [er] (Watt 1998, Watt & Milroy 1999).

By examining the patterns of linguistic variation in conjunction with the intra-community variables outlined in 1.1, it is possible to assess which social groups are using specific variants. Thus, when combining the variable of age with the patterns of variation, especially from the same speakers over a period of time (cf. description of *real time* studies and age-grading in 1.1.4 – e.g. Britain’s 1992 study of New Zealand English), the sociolinguist is able to monitor how language in a particular dialect changes over time. In addition to this, Watt (2006: 6) also states that the sociolinguistic variable and the differences in distribution of variants in differing styles (casual, formal and ‘between styles’) can:

“...likewise be captured, thereby allowing insight into speakers’ attitudes towards and perceptions of the variant forms in their repertoires.”

Both patterns of variation between the different social groups’ use of specific variants (Chapter 5) *and* their perceptions and attitudes towards these variant forms in their repertoires (Chapter 6) are of principal concern to the present study.

At this point it is important to note that factors other than external or social influences such as intra-community variables affect language change. Labov (2001) in his work on language variation and change, contrasts the effect on language with ‘internal’ versus ‘external’ factors, assessing how language changes through linguistic processes.

Essentially, ‘internal’ factors governing language change are those which are not socially-motivated linguistic changes and are instead those which occur within the sound system (cf. Watt 1998: 54 for further discussion). These changes occur in features such as minimal or extended chain-shifting²⁶ and mergers²⁷.

Although there is extensive work in the sociolinguistic literature concerning mergers and chain shifts (cf. Maguire (2008) for examination of the NURSE-NORTH merger in Tyneside English),

²⁶ A minimal chain shift involves a change in the position of two phonemes (the smallest contrastive units in a sound system) in which one moves away from an original position that is then occupied by the other (Labov 2001: 118). An extended chain shift is any combination of minimal chain shifts in which the entering element of one minimal chain shift replaces the leaving element of a second (Labov 2001: 119).

²⁷ This is the opposite of a chain shift, in which one vowel “assumes or appropriates the position held by the other” (Labov 2001: 119).

their investigations do rely on past linguistic findings for a given dialect or language. Thus, in terms of the present study, and given the lack of previous sociolinguistic survey within Darlington, we are unable to examine change through such internal factors. Our main interest then is in the social or ‘external’ factors and the role they play in shaping the phonetic variation within Darlington. The following section addresses a number of salient theoretical positions associated with social studies of phonological variation and change.

1.5.1 Variation and change: dialect contact

Dialect contact involves face-to-face contact between speakers (Trudgill 1986). Dialect contact between two dialects through social and geographical mobility may result in language variation and change. Dialect contact between two separate dialects however invariably involves *accommodation*. Accommodation theory is a major tenet within the dialect contact framework (Giles (1973), (1979), Giles and Powesland (1975) and Giles and Smith (1979)), and shows, as Trudgill (1986) describes,

“...mutual intelligibility among dialects [as] resulting from the speaker’s adjustment of his/her speech to that of a conversational partner who speaks a different dialect”.

By way of an example, a ‘Geordie’ speaker addressing a speaker from Hertfordshire may *not* adopt the ingliding diphthongs of [ɪə] and [ʊə], favouring instead to produce the less marked, long monophthongs ([o:] [e:]) in FACE and GOAT vowels: this would perhaps lead to an increase in intelligibility from the Hertfordshire speaker. Such an example would be termed ‘accent convergence’; realising a reduction in production of dissimilarities in order to accommodate to the addressee. The opposite of this form of accommodation is ‘accent divergence’ (cf. Bell 1984), in which speakers disassociate themselves from or show disapproval towards their addressee. In addition, Kerswill (2001: 4) describes ‘upward convergence’, in which speakers accommodate to people with a higher status. The opposite is ‘downward convergence’, in which higher status speakers accommodate to lower status speakers: this, according to Kerswill (2001: 4) however is a much rarer occurrence than that of ‘upward convergence’. Accommodation theory is derived more from a socially psychological motivation

than any other linguistic impetus and is relevant to language ideology (1.3). Accommodation theory was at the heart of the work in Norwich by Peter Trudgill (1972), (1986)) as well as other sociolinguistic work (Nordenstam (1979), LePage (1975), (1978), Bell (1984)). Nordenstam (1979) in her study of a Swedish community in Bergen, Norway, used accommodation theory to describe dialect blurring, specifically across regional dialect boundaries. The position of Darlington, lying as it does not only on a number of linguistic isoglosses, but also on a number of regional dialect boundaries, suggests that DE speakers may be in contact with a number of dialects such as North Yorkshire, Teesside etc.

Also important to the present study are two other language change processes within the dialect contact framework. These are ‘dialect levelling’ and ‘linguistic diffusion’. The first, dialect levelling, is founded on the social and geographical mobility of speakers causing dialect contact between different dialects resulting in, as Watt and Milroy (1999: 26)) describe, “the eradication of socially or locally marked variants.” Kerswill (2001: 1), a key investigator of this form of language change (cf. Kerswill (1996), (2000), and with Williams (2000)), as well as Kerwsill and Williams (1999)) states that 20th century British English, “has been characterised by dialect contact and standardisation”. Furthermore, Kerswill sees the characterisation of British English as being composed of two synchronous stages. The first stage affects traditional rural dialects, which, by the beginning of the twentieth century were “spoken by under 50% of the population”. Kerswill describes how, over one or more generations (cf. 1.1.4), “families have abandoned these dialects in favour of a type of English that is *more like* the urban speech of the local town or city”²⁸. Such a move away from traditional rural dialects has levelled out many of the localised features peculiar to certain areas of the country. Therefore, fewer differences are seen between the ways of speaking in different parts of the country: this is dialect levelling. Urban dialects especially are open to, as Kerswill (2001: 1) notes, “further levelling (...) to such an extent that, in the south-east of England around London, it is quite difficult to tell where a person comes from.” This process is evident in Tyneside English which, as Watt (2000: 1) states, has suffered

²⁸ Kerswill (2001: 6) highlights such ‘generational change in County Durham, specifically to the north of the County in Ushaw Moor, in which the HOUSE vowel has totally changed from [ʊu] to [au] over two generations. This has occurred, according to Kerswill (ibid) “not by a phonetically gradual and imperceptible shift, but substitution of /au/ for /u:/ in the relevant words”. Kerswill expands on this, by claiming that, “people in their 60s today (born around 1940) alternate between [hʊus] and [haus], [ʊut] and [aut], while the youngsters on the whole *do not*”.

“the loss of localised phonetic variants.” Furthermore, Watt (2000: 1) suggests that “the disappearance of uvular [ʁ] (otherwise known as the ‘Northumbrian Burr’) and the increasing recessiveness of pronunciations like [hjem] ‘home’ and [ʃɔ:t] ‘shirt’”, have been, in all probability, in progress since the beginning of the 20th century (cf. Beal (1985), Viereck (1966), (1969), Wells (1982)). Viereck (1969) attributes such loss of TE features to the influence of British RP, although, there is little evidence of this (Watt (2000: 1)). Watt (ibid) suggests that the loss of localised features is due to levelling “toward a supra-local accent”, or ‘regional standard’ (also found by Edwards and Jacobsen (1987) in their study of Canadian English). This accent, although resembling southern English English is “nonetheless northern” (Watt (1998), Watt and Milroy (1999)). This is characterised by the accelerated use of both close-mid monophthongs of FACE and GOAT ([e:] and [o:]), variants favoured over the ingliding ‘localised’ diphthongs of [ɪə] and [ʊə]. Both variants ([e:] and [o:]) are described by Wells (1982: 356) as “pan-northern”. Indeed, as Watt (1998: 262) states, the loss of the localised centering diphthongs of [ɪə] and [ʊə] in Tyneside English suggests that the accent is “losing ground to the generalised northern English koine²⁹”. It is conceivable that speakers of Darlington English, given that the town is only thirty-five miles south of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, may also plausibly be levelling towards this ‘northern standard accent’, employing both [e:] and [o:] in its realisations of FACE and GOAT. This ‘generalised northern English koine’ and its impact upon Darlington English is assessed in Chapter 7. The interest in the present study will be whether both variants are used in Darlington in favour of more ‘localised’ forms (such as those highlighted in Orton and Dieth’s (1963) SED data from sites close to Darlington (cf. 3.2)).

The second mechanism for ‘regional dialect levelling’ of the forms seen in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, according to Kerswill (2002), is ‘geographical diffusion’. This process involves the spread of features from a dominant centre (Trudgill (1983); cf. also Britain (2002) for the effect of this process within the Fens, East Anglia and the spread of features from London English)).

²⁹ The term *koine* originating from the process of *koineisation* (cf. Samarin 1971, Siegel 1985, Kerswill 1994). The process involves “the formation of new varieties as a result of the contact between speakers of different dialects of single language” (Kerswill 1994: 1). Our interest in the present study revolves around Siegel’s description of a ‘regional koine’ which “results from contact between regional dialects of what is considered a single language” (1985: 363).

Essentially, the process ‘diffuses’ linguistic forms and innovations from one geographical area to another. As Kerswill (2002: 2) states:

“...the diffusion is wave-like, but modified by the likelihood that nearby towns and cities will adopt the feature before the more rural parts in between. At the individual level in such a diffusion model, speakers are in face-to-face contact with others who have already adopted the new feature and they are motivated to adopt it themselves”

The main feature of geographical diffusion is that urban areas are likely to implement the linguistic change before a surrounding rural area does. Geographical diffusion itself is split into either (a) expansion diffusion or (b) relocation diffusion. Expansion diffusion involves linguistic forms spreading geographically through day-to-day contact between speakers who have adopted the new forms and those who have not. Relocation diffusion, according to Gerritsen (1985), involves the “transportation of linguistic forms and/or pre-existing local forms to a geographically non-contiguous community” (cf. also Gerritsen 1988). According to Britain (2000: 40), relocation diffusion tends to have more dramatic linguistic consequences than expansion diffusion. He describes how relocation diffusion arises from greater social upheaval, and a “greater likelihood of contact with structurally distinct dialects, causing much more dramatic accommodation in contexts of greater linguistic diversity”. Therefore, in rural areas or isolated communities where mobility is limited, there is little linguistic diffusion and language change. Whereas, as Llamas (2001: 36) states, both transportation networks and employment patterns are such that interaction between urban centres is “likely to be greater than that between urban and nearby rural locations³⁰”.

Both processes of levelling and diffusion come under the label of *homogenisation*. The majority of studies into large-scale homogenisation in British English (Kerswill and Williams (1999), Watt and Milroy (1999), Britain (2004)) see homogenisation as being contact induced through

³⁰ Although previous linguistic research in Darlington is minimal, SED accounts of four rural areas surrounding Darlington are assessed in order to gain an insight into how the DE accent has come about. Taking Llamas’ comments above into account, perhaps this may seem an unwise move and may not paint a picture of the state of DE linguistic use. But this, as discussed above, is the only way we may capture linguistic use in the immediate area and assess such use across time. The chosen areas are outlined in 3.1.

face-to-face interaction.³¹ The principal concern, certainly within these studies, has been which speakers introduce new forms into the communities under investigation.

Sociolinguistic thought is divided as to precisely which speakers bring innovations into the speech community. As noted in 1.2, it was speakers with high mobility and weak ties within their specific social networks who were most likely to innovate or introduce new forms. In Belfast, the male speakers had higher network scores (precipitating a denser or stronger network) than female speakers. Female speakers with weaker networks (lower network scores) used more standard variants in the face of localised features indicative of male speech. This position, in which weak networks for female speakers affects linguistic variation, was mirrored in Labov's Philadelphia study (2001). Apart from network strength, mobility also plays an important role in the transportation of new or innovative forms. Trudgill (1986: 57) cites Steinsholt (1962) who proposed that new forms were introduced by individuals called *language missionaries*. As Trudgill (ibid) explains, these missionaries move away from their native area for a period of time and then return, bringing with them new linguistic forms. The return to the area of these speakers means that they, and their speech, are not rejected outright as they perhaps would be for outsiders to that particular community. With the proposed methodology for the present study as it is, and the selection of Darlington English speakers who have lived in Darlington for the duration of their life³², language missionaries, may not play a part in the present study.

Given the social parameters of age, sex and 'class' in selecting the groups of speakers, one aim of the present study is to try and identify 'group innovators': i.e. which 'groups' in Darlington are leading language variation and change. The spread of new sociolinguistic forms through groups in the speech community is addressed by Labov:

“the last general sociolinguistic model of the mechanism of linguistic change (Labov 1966) proposed that change within the system could originate in any social group (...) spreading gradually through each neighbouring social group until it reached in one form or another all members of that community.”

³¹ Trudgill (1986) champions the face-to-face theory of language change, refuting the effect of mass-media upon language variation and change. Such an effect he claims, would see an innovation causing a simultaneous change to British speakers: this has not and in all probability will not happen.

³² Although many of the subjects do travel to different areas of the North-East daily.

Labov (1972: 294-5) suggests that the social location of the innovators is not in the “highest social class *as a rule*”, rather, as evidenced in his 1966 New York City study, the innovating ‘groups’ were *always* located in the upper working class or lower middle class, both groups showing identical patterns in the “advancement of the change in progress in vernacular speech” (2001: 32). Labov’s investigation into the “leaders of change” is not a search for individuals but rather “for social locations and social types”. Such leaders of linguistic change are, he suggests, not those who are “inventors of a certain form, but those who, by reason of their social histories and patterns of behaviour, will advance the ongoing change most strongly.”

With the contextual and theoretical implications of the present study assessed, the history and background of Darlington relevant to this study is now considered.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF DARLINGTON

2.0 Introduction

The town of Darlington has been chosen for this study for four reasons. First, as an urban variety, Darlington English has hitherto received no form of sociolinguistic survey. Secondly, Darlington has been chosen because it is a border town, being where the counties of Durham and Yorkshire meet. The third reason is the changing administration the town has experienced and how this has impacted upon DE speakers' identities. The fourth factor, linked to the first, is that the town lies within the North-East region and, in light of recent work in this area (Llamas (2001), Watt (1998), Burbano-Elizondo (2008)), the choice of the previously un-researched urban area of Darlington will prove to be a good basis for comparison in regard to linguistic research in this area.

This chapter deals with a number of significant geographical and historical matters relating to the town of Darlington. In order to gain a clearer insight into the environment in which the speakers live, the discussion moves from a historical account of the town to an outline of Darlington's contemporary place within the North East. The main emphasis of the chapter is centred upon the lack of stability of Darlington's geographical and administrative affiliations. This is borne out by the results of a map-labelling task carried out by four of the 32 subjects. This was aimed at investigating Darlingtonians' perceptions of the geographical boundaries of the town and the extent to which these are consistent. The map-labelling task forms a platform for the Identities Questionnaire (IQ) reviewed in 6.1, and in addition, provides a basis for explaining the results arising from the questionnaire and its "mapping" onto linguistic variation examined in 6.2.

2.1 Location of Darlington

The town of Darlington is situated on the North Yorkshire/South Durham border, eighteen miles south of the city of Durham, twelve miles west of Middlesbrough and thirty-five miles south of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Darlington is a relatively large (population 97838³³) market town and is by far the largest populated area in the south of Durham, with only Barnard Castle (population 5,600) to the west lying between Darlington and Cumbria. Figure 2.1 highlights Darlington's position (particularly the district of Darlington) to the south of the 'far north' (to use Trudgill's terminology 1974). The geographical position of the town being at the intersection of several trade routes including that of road (A1), rail and river (the rivers Tees and Skerne flow close to and through Darlington respectively), is strongly associated with its development as a market town.

Figure 2.1: Geographical position of Darlington within the North-East



³³ Taken from <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/pyramids/pages/00EH.asp>.

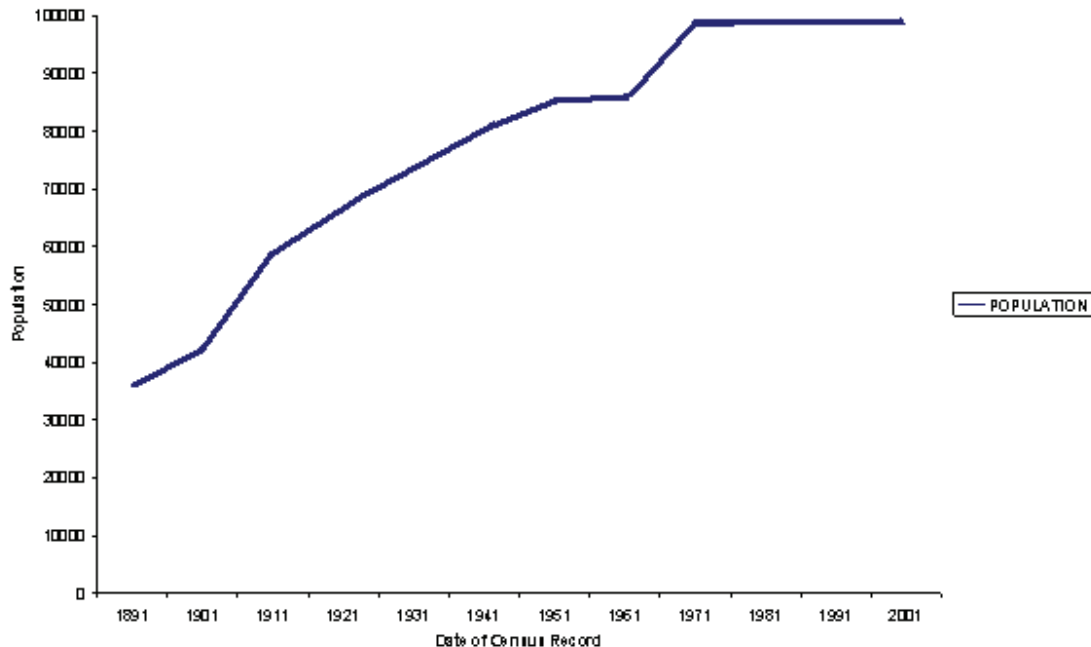
The following discussion addresses the four reasons outlined above. Principally, it details the history and population growth of Darlington as well as examining the town's travel links.

2.2 History and population growth of Darlington

Darlington, originally an Anglo-Saxon settlement known as 'Dearthington', is situated on the River Skerne, a northern tributary of the River Tees. Mackenzie and Ross (1834: 212) describe Darlington as, 'a place of high antiquity and a borough by prescription'. The town was 'given' via a licence from King Etheldred to St. Cuthbert, whose church still stands in the town. Given the geographical positioning of Darlington to a number of trade routes, it quickly established itself in Norman times as a busy market town. Such routes were used to strengthen trade in Darlington during the seventeenth century by the number of prominent Quaker families living in Darlington at the time. This was enhanced in the eighteenth century by the introduction of turnpike roads, running from Boroughbridge through Darlington to Durham. The establishment of road links at this time, coupled with the influence of the market, led to an increase in in-migration to the town. Barke (1981: 23-5) believes a high majority of the 3295 inhabitants of Darlington in 1767 were in-migrants from Barnard Castle. Such are the frequent problems with data-sets of this kind, it is necessary to examine a range of different sources, aside from Barke's, to clarify exactly how the population of Darlington has grown over the years. According to Barke (1981: 23), in 1821 the population had risen to 5725. This figure is a lot less than Mackenzie and Ross' (1834) figure of 6551 for the same year, but five less than Whellan et al. (1856) which they state was 5730. Both Barke (1981: 23) and Whellan et al. (1856) show exactly the same figure (8574) for 1831, whilst Mackenzie and Ross (ibid) state a higher figure of 9417.

What is not in doubt, is the dramatic rise in the population of the town over the next forty years, due to the establishment of the iron industry and the consequent in-migration from Scotland, Wales and particularly Ireland (Lynch 1989), with many Irish in-migrants arriving between 1845 and 1847 during the Great Famine. The population of 8574 in 1831 had risen to 27,729 in 1871, rising still further to 35,684 in 1891. Figure 2.2 highlights the steady rise in population from the late nineteenth century, through the twentieth century and for the last recorded Census figure:

Figure 2.2: Population growth in Darlington between 1891 and 2001



It is interesting to note that during the last fifty years of Census record (1951 to 2001) an increase of only fifteen thousand (84,886 to 98,683) is evident.

Darlington is principally famous for having the first ever steam-worked public railway. Originally proposed to be a canal system to transport coal, lead and lime between Stockton-on-Tees and Darlington, this idea was overlooked due to lack of investment in favour of the construction of the first passenger railway system in the world (cf. Flynn 1989). The steam hauled passenger train first ran on the official opening of the line in September 1825. The opening of the line and the establishment of the rail route may explain the rise in population in the town at this time. Following this success, a rail link was established with York in 1841. Three years later, a link to Newcastle-upon-Tyne was constructed via the Newcastle and Darlington Junction Railway. Today, Darlington is on the main East coast rail line between London and Edinburgh, as well as on the lines to the North-West, the Midlands and the West Country.

Darlington is also connected to other North Eastern areas by a range of road links. Running through the town is the A167 route which originally ran between London and Chester-le-Street. This was previously known as the Great North Road. Although it bypasses the town, the A1 (M) is in close proximity to it, linking it to areas north and south. To the east, the A66 runs parallel to the town, to Teesside and the coast, whilst the A67 runs to the west and Cumbria.

The roads surrounding Darlington can be seen in the figure 2.3:

Figure 2.3: Road map of Darlington and the surrounding area



In terms of travel links, Darlington's official website³⁴ terms the town as a “gateway” to a number of differing areas, specifically the ‘Tees Valley’. This point is discussed in more detail in 2.4.

Darlington, in contemporary terms, and in light of main road changes, may be seen as a town ‘en route’ to other, more influential urban areas within the North-East (Stockton-on-Tees/Middlesbrough) which exert more economic ‘pull’ than Darlington. For example, in recent years, the influence of Teesport has led to a string of commuters leaving Darlington daily. This has been due to increased employment opportunities in shipbuilding and jobs within the blue chip companies such as Cellnet who are now based in Middlesbrough. The rail link between Darlington and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with train journeys between the two areas taking only thirty-five minutes has also led to large numbers of Darlingtonians leaving the town daily to work in Tyneside³⁶. In addition, large businesses such as Savers, Cummins and Hutchinson Telecom have closed down facilities such as warehouses and central headquarters in favour of the cheaper labour available in Asia, thus forcing previously employed people from the town to seek employment elsewhere. Darlington's unemployment rate is 6.6%, higher than the national average (4.6%) but, interestingly, it is lower than the average in the North-East (7.7%) and is lower than that of Middlesbrough (10%), Stockton-on-Tees (7.6%) and Hartlepool (7.4%)³⁵.

2.3 Previous sociolinguistic research

The present study is perhaps at a disadvantage given the lack of suitable sociolinguistic literature regarding the area of Darlington. Although dialectal work has taken place (Atkinson (1868), Ellis (1889)), no phonological information is available. Pearce (2008) states in his ideological work in the North-East that one subject described Darlington English as being “different depending on the area you are in the town (...) from the ‘posh’ West End’ to the east of the town (...) which sounds more Yorkshire”. Recent work has taken place in surrounding North-Eastern urban centres such as Middlesbrough (Llamas (1998), (2001), Watt and Llamas (2004)), Durham

³⁴ www.darlington.gov.uk.

³⁵ Figures taken from www.darlington.gov.uk; www.sector1.net (for figure in Middlesbrough); www.ndc.org (for figures in Stockton-on-Tees and Hartlepool).

(Kerswill (1984), (1987) and Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Watt (1998), Watt and Milroy (1999), Maguire (2008), Moisl et al. (2006) and (2008)), but no such work is evident in Darlington or its district. The only available source of data for linguistic comparison is the Orton and Dieth's (1963) *Survey of English Dialects* (SED). The SED was a series of recordings collated during the period of 1950-1961 and published in 1963. This sought to survey the speech of older male speakers in rural areas within the British Isles, with a view to building a linguistic atlas of the area³⁶.

From the SED four areas surrounding Darlington, Witton-le-Wear to the north, Melsonby to the south, Bishop Middleham to the east and Eggleston to the west were surveyed (see figure 4.1.1). Three areas lie within the traditional region of County Durham and one (Melsonby) in Yorkshire. Given that the speech from each area is taken from a sixty year old male recorded around fifty years prior to this study, it may be assumed that the SED data is of limited use: it is however the only pre-existing data of relevance to the present study and may give us an indication as to the linguistic features which existed in Darlington English at this point in time. In regional terms, a study of Darlington English would also be of benefit given the interest in a number of North-Eastern studies of the move towards a regional standard (Watt (1998), Watt and Milroy (1999), Kerswill and Torgersen (2004)). The nature of the current study will illustrate Darlington English speakers' local feelings towards a number of these North Eastern areas.

The following section examines the shifting administrative and geographical allocations Darlington has experienced in recent times.

2.4 The shifting identity of Darlington: The “shoehorned state”

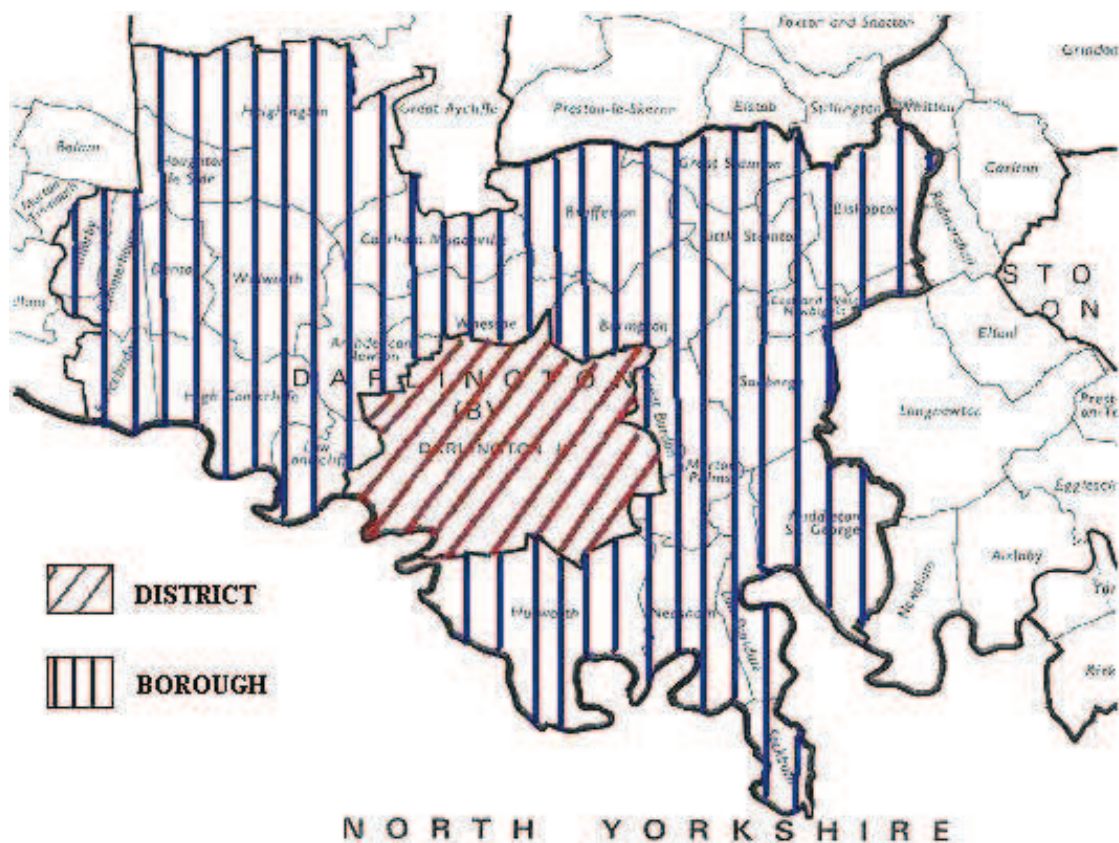
Geographically, Darlington lies on the boundary between North Yorkshire and South Durham, in the south-west of the county of Durham. Daysh and Symonds (1953) includes Darlington and its

³⁶ Orton and Dieth (1963: 14) believed that capturing male speech was necessary given that “in this country men speak vernacular English more frequently, more consistently and more genuinely than women”. Coupled with this, the authors believed that older males (mostly over the age of 60) had reduced social and geographical mobility, thus, hopefully, capturing a true indication of the dialect in question.

borough in his opening map of his work 'West Durham: a study of a problem area in North Eastern England', although many modern maps show this to be inaccurate.

In terms of area, the Borough of Darlington has seen fairly limited growth from the early 1950s to the present day. During part of this period the borough did not border North Yorkshire, as the area of Blackwell separated the south of the town and the Yorkshire border. Under the Local Government Act 1972, the County administration defined borough and district boundaries for Darlington: these are seen in figure 2.4:

Figure 2.4: The borough and district of Darlington



The new administrative boundaries saw Aycliffe to the north move into the borough of Sedgfield with the district of Darlington now spreading along the route of the River Tees from Middleton St George, bordering Cleveland in the east and Piercebridge³⁷ in the west. Over the next two decades Durham's affiliation with Darlington became ceremonial rather than administrative, with support from County Durham to Darlington decreasing during this time. For instance, although Darlington comprised 16% of County Durham's population, only 4% of the County council budget for highway maintenance was set aside for the town³⁸. In 1995, the Statutory Instrument Act 1995 No. 1772 was passed³⁹ stating that the area was now the "County of Darlington". The act also stated that whilst Darlington was no longer part of Durham's administration, services such as police and fire were still to be regulated by County Durham.

Darlington borough became an isolated area bordering Aycliffe in County Durham to the north, Stockton-on-Tees (Cleveland) to the east, and Teesdale to the west. The NHS care trust, fire and constabulary services are all controlled by Durham⁴⁰. There is an active campaign led by a Darlington resident for Darlingtonians to 'drop' the obligatory 'County Durham' from their postal addresses⁴¹. Already, many internet address forms do not include County Durham as a mandatory field when one of Darlington's postcodes is entered. Thus, although some traces of Durham's past administration over Darlington are still present, this may be diminishing as time goes by. It is plausible that future generations will not associate Darlington with County Durham, especially with the town's links to the area east of it (Teesside).

In 2001, Darlington became part of the Tees Valley. This area encompasses Middlesbrough/Stockton-on-Tees/Hartlepool/Redcar and Cleveland and Darlington. The area is regulated by 'Tees Valley Unlimited', a subsidiary of 'One North East', a regional development agency which (in the words of the website), "promotes the benefits of living, working and doing

³⁷ Piercebridge is an interesting case vis-à-vis the boundary between Durham and Yorkshire, as the River Tees itself runs through the village, placing half the village in Durham and the remaining half in Yorkshire.

³⁸ Information taken from Councillor Nick Wallis on his blogspot: <http://darlingtoncouncillor.blogspot.com>.

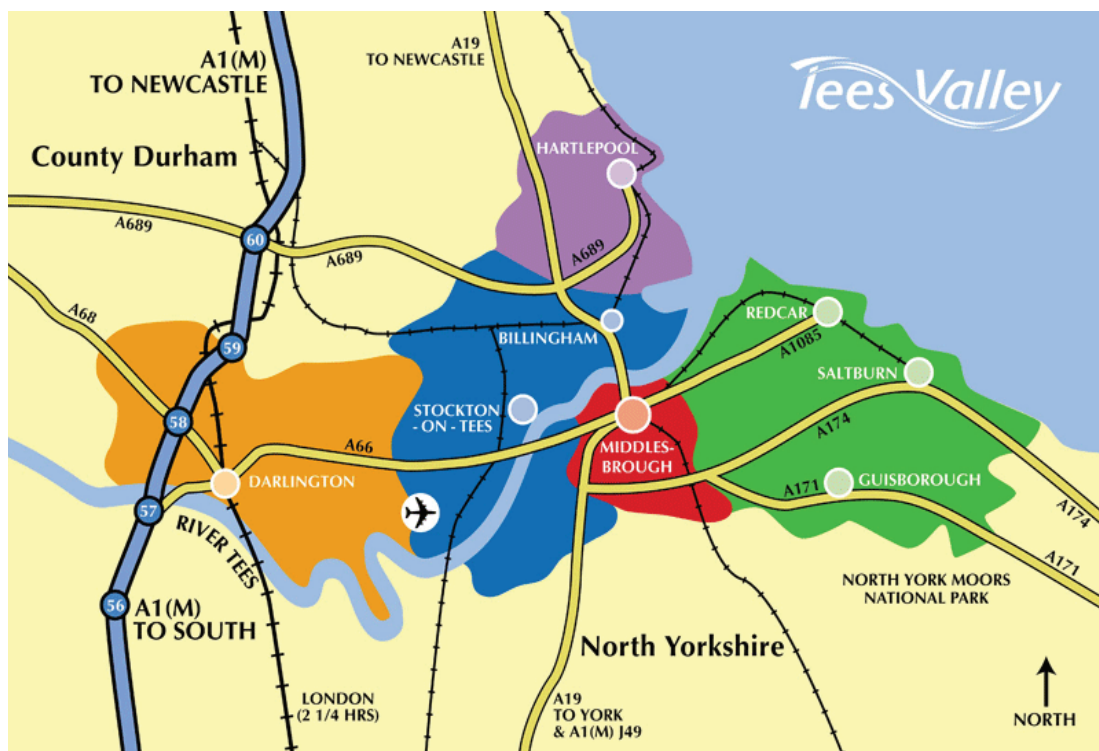
³⁹ http://www.opsi.gov.uk/SI/si1995/Uksi_19951772_en_2.htm.

⁴⁰ Indeed, the lord Lieutenant of Durham is still responsible not only for Darlington, but also Stockton and Hartlepool.

⁴¹ Darlington resident Adrian Jackson has been noted for sending letters to every Darlington councillor concerning this, prompting fairly active responses from many Darlingtonians and is reported by Councillor Nick Wallis on his blogspot: <http://darlingtoncouncillor.blogspot.com/>.

business [in the North East]’. Tees Valley Unlimited have created a £52 million investment for Darlington aimed at the physical development of the town centre, development of Faverdale for industrial use, and industrial growth in the town in general. Therefore, having ‘left’ Durham in 1997, and although being a unitary authority, Darlington appears also to be supported financially, as well as being geographically allocated to the Tees Valley. However, there appears to be a certain amount of confusion surrounding this geographical reallocation.

Figure 2.5: The Tees Valley



On the one hand, as shown in figure 2.4, Darlington is included within the official ‘Tees Valley’ partnership map⁴², whilst the government run Darlington town guide website (www.darlington.gov.uk) states the following ‘Welcome message’:

⁴² Taken from www.teesvalleypartnership.co.uk.

“... Darlington Borough is the unitary local authority for the town and surrounding area, providing the gateway to the Tees Valley, the moors, dales and coast.”

Such a statement mirrors the situation in Middlesbrough. Cited by Llamas (1998: 1), the ‘Official Middlesbrough Guide’ states that Middlesbrough is ‘a gateway to regions’, maintaining that the town is ‘at the gateway of Northumbria and Yorkshire’. Interestingly, Llamas (ibid), quoting a British national newspaper, describes Middlesbrough as “...not quite Yorkshire... [its] not on the way to anywhere really... [it] is the forgotten part of Britain with *no* identity.”

Both areas, contained within ‘Tees Valley’ are plausibly in similar positions, as both towns are described as ‘gateways’ to certain other North Eastern areas. From figure 2.4 above, it is evident that Darlington is at the centre of the two main road routes. The A1 and the A66 both skirt the town, bypassing Darlington altogether. With the ‘old’ A1 (the A167) now seen as a longer route to travelling north and the A67 reaching towards more rural, less populated areas (such as Barnard Castle), Darlington’s road links see relatively little traffic running directly through the town. It is possible that such bypassing of the town through travel links may have led to the possible alienation of Darlington within the North East.

To illustrate still further such alienation of Darlington within the North-East, it is interesting to highlight the recent release of the breakdown of ‘no’ votes in opposition to the proposed North-Eastern regional assembly in 2004. Darlington had the lowest percentage of ‘yes’ votes across the total number of towns in the North-East in support of the regional assembly with 12.9%. In an article in ‘The Darlington and Stockton Times’⁴³, the following statement warrants highlighting:

“In Darlington, only 12.9% voted ‘Yes’ - *the lowest by some way* [my emphasis] Why? Could it be that having broken away from County Durham in 1997 and now being

⁴³ www.theclarion.co.uk/the-north-east/news/assembly/pages/061104b.html.

‘shoehorned’ unhappily into the Tees Valley, Darlington people treasure their independence?”

This statement would appear to crystallise the position of Darlington in the North-East as an independent or enclave area, separate from a range of administrative areas within which the town has been categorised for what appears to be reasons of perceived bureaucratic efficacy.

Following constant shifts in administrative allocation, the vote percentage is perhaps the most relevant example of the isolation its inhabitants experience within the North-East. It is possible that the local speech may reflect such isolation within the North East, culminating in loss of specific linguistic features specific to the area. The notion of identity and language ideology within Darlington is considered in 6.1 and 6.2, whilst speakers’ perceptions of Darlington’s ‘shoehorned’ categorisation within the North East is examined below in 2.5.

In conclusion, the discussion outlines how Darlington was geographically in County Durham. Changes to Darlington, specifically recent administrative shifts (especially the formation of the unitary council), and the ongoing shift of gravity towards Teesside may have had an effect upon the town. It is hypothesised that such factors have led to the development of an enclave mentality in the psyche of Darlingtonians although the town itself has remained consistent during the administrative changes.

The next section outlines the results taken from a map-labelling task aimed at gauging how Darlingtonians’ perceptions reflect the issues addressed above.

2.5 Perceptual boundary map-labelling task

The following section shows the results of a map-labelling task involving four speakers from Darlington (taken out of the 32 subjects in the main study). The principal aim of the task was to highlight the orientation and knowledge of Darlington English speakers with regard to the boundaries of the town. Such an exercise will contribute to the perceptual dialectological issues and results shown in Chapter 6.

The task involved hand drawing onto a map the five areas of (1) County Durham, (2) Tees Valley, (3) Teesside, (4) North Yorkshire and (5) Teesdale. Unlike work previously undertaken in the field of perceptual dialectology (cf. Preston (1999, 2003) and Montgomery (2007)), this task *did not* involve testing for the existence of perceptual dialectological boundaries for the five areas, rather, it was an attempt to bring to light evidence for the inconsistent nature of Darlington's regional categorisation. Subject 1 was an older MC female, whilst subjects 2 and 3 were younger WC males; subject 4 was an older WC female. The map given to the subjects was free from boundary markings, and bore only the names of the regional towns. Subjects were also asked to explain the rationale for their choice of boundary markings. These were noted below the maps themselves. A master copy of the actual boundaries collated from council boundary maps was annotated to provide a guide to the answers provided by the subjects, but this was not in view of the subjects. The next section outlines the rationale and map demarcations of the five areas highlighted above.

(1) County Durham: Current mapping of County Durham suggests that the southern boundary misses the north of Darlington by 3-4 miles, curving up towards the north of Hartlepool. The boundary of County Durham also encompasses the area of Teesdale, though it does not encroach upon the River Tyne.

Subject 1 believed that the county boundary did in fact begin north of Darlington, but failed to incorporate Teesdale within County Durham, although the boundary was shown, as it should be, above the route of the River Tees.

Subject 2 described the County Durham boundary (CDB) as being, "...anything north of the River Tees/south of the Tyne – i.e. including Darlington)". Again, as with Map 1, Teesdale was not seen as being part of County Durham, but the east side of the CDB was correctly annotated.

Subject 3 saw half of Teesdale as being part of the CDB, with Hartlepool not being included within the CDB. It was correctly noted that the CDB was north of Darlington.

Subject 4 described the CDB as being "north of the Tees", with the northern half of Darlington *included* within this. Again, as with subject 3, half of Teesdale is included within the CDB: Hartlepool was correctly excluded from the CDB

(2) **Tees Valley:** Contemporary maps including the official map of Tees Valley (found on www.darlington.gov.uk) show that Tees Valley starts at Darlington, carries on through Stockton and Middlesbrough and ends in Hartlepool.

Subject 1 believed Tees Valley (TV) to “rise through Darlington but not to go through Stockton and Middlesbrough”. This point is interesting given that the subject sees Teesside (i.e. Middlesbrough and Stockton) as being totally separate to the Tees Valley. The subjects’ placement of Tees Valley was seen to start on the boundary of Teesside, extending towards and including Darlington

Subject 2 described TV as “industrial”, being “in and around the mouth of the Tees towards Redcar and including Stockton”. Darlington was not incorporated within her map boundary.

Subject 3 saw TV as “presumably following the Tees”. However, the subject encompassed Teesdale within Tees Valley. He did see Darlington as being “part of Tees Valley”.

Subject 4 confused TV with Teesdale, perceiving the two areas as being one large area stemming across towards Teesside at the mouth of the river. She did not see Hartlepool as being part of TV, but did see Darlington as within this area.

(3) **Teesside:** From the A19 and the A1, road signs for the area known as Teesside are visible approximately ten miles before entering Stockton-on-Tees. The area is shown on council maps as incorporating not only Stockton-on-Tees and Middlesbrough, but also coastal areas such as Redcar and Saltburn. Hartlepool is not part of this area. From government maps, Darlington is not seen as being part of Teesside.

Subject 1 described Teesside as being centered around the mouth of the Tees. The subject correctly incorporated Stockton and Middlesbrough within the area of Teesside. Hartlepool was not included in her mapping of the area.

Subject 2 saw Teesside as stretching from Hartlepool in the north, to the Cleveland Hills in the south. The subject correctly saw Teesside as containing both Stockton and Middlesbrough

Subject 3 correctly included Middlesbrough and Stockton-on-Tees within Teesside, but, like subject 2 also included Hartlepool.

Subject 4: incorrectly saw Tees Valley and Teesdale as being the same area, but she did correctly note that Teesside included Stockton-on-Tees and Middlesbrough at the mouth of the Tees.

None of the subjects saw Darlington as being part of Teesside.

(4) **North Yorkshire border:** The present day North Yorkshire border follows the southern line of the River Tees to the south of Darlington. The border skirts beneath the area which is now Teesside, although this area was formerly the East Riding of Yorkshire (Llamas 1998). The border dips below Barnard Castle to the west.

Subject 1 saw correctly that the River Tees was the physical boundary splitting South Durham and North Yorkshire. Specifically, she noted where road signs denoted this change from Durham to Yorkshire. Her rationale was correct, but the route drawn by the subject was about 6 miles south of Darlington.

Subject 2 denoted “division between County Durham and North Yorkshire is the River Tees, forming a natural boundary”. Her annotation however, weaved across the river at several points and went north of Darlington and Barnard Castle.

Subject 3 drew the North Yorkshire boundary as following the Tees to the south. This annotation was the most accurate of the four, following exactly the route of the river.

Subject 4 described the boundary as being “south of the River Tees”. This is correct, but her annotation was drawn above Darlington and 2 miles south of the river on its way to Barnard Castle.

(5) **Teesdale:** constitutes the area to the direct west of the Tees Valley. This area does not encroach upon Darlington and is still viewed as being within the county limits of Durham. Its main urban focal point is Barnard Castle.

Subject 1 correctly incorporated Barnard Castle within the limits of Teesdale, but did not see Teesdale as being as large an area as it is.

Subject 2 described Teesdale as “moorland and farming land west of Barnard Castle”. The subject did not see Barnard Castle as being part of Teesdale. This is reflected in the fact that her annotation of Teesdale was incorrectly drawn north of the Tees.

Subject 3 correctly described Teesdale as “surrounding” Barnard Castle – again, his annotation was the most accurate of the four subjects.

Subject 4 saw both Teesdale and Tees Valley as the same area and not as separate entities.

2.5.1 Conclusions

Three clear points emerge from the four maps described above. Firstly, what is evident is the doubt concerning the area of Tees Valley. Indicative of this is the confusion of subject four as regards the areas of Tees Valley and Teesdale. Geographically, three of the four Darlington English subjects did view their town as being part of the Tees Valley. Tees Valley also contains the area of Hartlepool, a fact which is not apparent to the subjects. Secondly, the conscious effort on the part of the subjects to isolate the area of Teesside as being totally separate from the town of Darlington is clear from the map-labelling exercise. Darlington subjects see Teesside as incorporating *only* Stockton and Middlesbrough. Hartlepool is not perceived as being part of the same area as Darlington and was not mentioned within the subjects' rationale. Finally, in regard to Teesdale, subjects did not correctly visualise the area the district covered. However, subjects correctly saw Teesdale as the area west of Darlington, with Barnard Castle (the largest conurbation in this particular area) as its focal point.

The focus of the present chapter is to outline the confusion surrounding Darlington's place within the region from an administrative point of view, and also to illustrate the extent to which this confusion is reflected in the perceptions of Darlingtonians. What is evident is that subjects do see Darlington, at least from a perceptual geographical standpoint, as an individual area. Darlington's place is not seen as being in Teesside, North Yorkshire or Teesdale, rather Darlington's position in the opinions of the four subjects, lying north of the River Tees warrants categorisation within the county of Durham.

In Chapter 6, perceptual dialectological attitudes of Darlingtonians are addressed. This targets Darlington English speakers' impressions of neighbouring North-Eastern accents and highlights their similarities and differences.

The next chapter outlines the study design and methodology of the current study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND STUDY DESIGN

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the materials and methods used in eliciting the data for the present study. The study design is outlined in 3.1 categorising the sample of 32 Darlington English speakers into age, sex and social ‘class’ groupings. The chapter examines the choice of two areas in Darlington from which two socially polarised groups were sampled. Section 3.2 details the construction of the data set used to elicit the linguistic variables of interest and outline the transcription and statistical analysis. Finally, in 3.3, the structure of the identities questionnaire is put forward, explaining the rationale for its inclusion in the present study.

3.1 Study Design

The nature of the present study is such that the extra-linguistic variables of sex, age and social ‘class’, chosen as part of the speech community methodological framework (1.1), form the basis for subject categorisation. A central element within a variationist ‘speech community’ study such as this is to obtain a balanced sample of data across the relevant social categories (age, sex and social ‘class’, in this case) with equal numbers of subject within each cell of the design.

The study design divided the 32 speakers by the two sub-categories of each of age, sex and ‘class’, creating eight cells, with each cell comprising four speakers (therefore sex X age X class X 4 speakers = 32). Each of the three extra-linguistic variables reviewed earlier in 1.1, are outlined below in relation to the methodology of the present study, concluding with a summary of the final subject matrix.

3.1.1 Sex

Section 1.1.2 outlined the usage which has been made of the terms ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ in sociolinguistic research. The section concluded that although gender is used as a descriptive term by sociolinguists, it is actually the effects of speaker ‘sex’ (i.e. ‘male’ or female’ use) which are

investigated in most cases (Milroy (1994), Labov (2001) and Llamas (2001): thus the intra-community variable of 'sex' in terms of the present study is represented by the binary classification of (1) male and (2) female speech.

3.1.2 Age

The differences in linguistic use between different age groups were documented in 1.1.3, highlighting that the variable is troublesome to categorise (Llamas 2001) because it is not necessarily straightforwardly related to chronological age. It was decided that the study of two emically defined speaker groups separated by a generation was needed in order to capture these linguistic differences. In studies such as Kerswill and Williams (1999) and Watt and Milroy (1999), two speaker groups separated by a generation were chosen, successfully highlighting patterns of language variation and change.

Atkinson (2002) showed that significant differences in pronunciation were apparent within speakers aged 45-50 years and speakers aged 65-70 years. To counteract this difference, the original structure for this particular study was to create a series of four to five age groups, encompassing groups from the late teens to speakers up to the age of 80. However, in order to create equally suitable cells for each cohort, the number of speakers would have totalled between 48-60, which, given the amount of data obtained from the speaker interviews, word lists and conversations, may have led to increased data-handling difficulties (cf. Sankoff 1980: 51-2 for a more extensive discussion on sample size). Instead, a gap between generations of two emically defined speaker groups was chosen. The first group, spanning the ages 20 to 27 years, is intended to exclude adolescent speech, and uses subjects who were born in and who had lived their whole lives in Darlington. The second group consisted of speakers ranging from 50-70 years of age who have, like the first group of speakers, lived their lives in Darlington. The selection of speakers who had lived their whole lives in Darlington was aimed at delimiting the influence of other accents by keeping geographical mobility to a minimum. Through the process of subject selection for the study it was ascertained that the greatest amount of social and geographical mobility was found in the MC younger male group (mainly through occupation and career advancement reasons), with the least mobility evident in the WC older female speaker group.

The age range of the groups gives a significant generational gap between them and the findings from the SED taken from the mid 1960s, given that the older speakers sampled in the current study are from a generation younger than the speakers used in the SED. As was stated in Chapter 2, while the SED does not accurately define the variants of DE at the time, it is the only linguistic source open to us for even an approximate comparison with a previous generation. The following section discusses the third extra-linguistic factor of social ‘class’.

3.1.3 Social Class

The stratification of social class for the present study is formulated in light of a combination of factors. Firstly, the social indicator ACORN implemented on www.upmystreet.co.uk was chosen. ACORN, an acronym for 'A Classification Of Residential Neighbourhoods', identifies fifty-two typical neighbourhood groups based on postcode type. Each group differs in terms of classifications such as unemployment, ethnic population, income etc. Selected categories of the ACORN classification (taken from www.upmystreet.co.uk) are shown below⁴⁴:

- **Demographics:** Includes the typical age range of residents, ethnic population and details of household composition in the area (single households, number of children etc).
- **Socio-Economic Profile:** The unemployment rate, local industries, how skilled and educated people are, how they get to work and so on
- **Housing:** The typical residential patterns in the area (owner-occupier, council tenant, second home) and the predominant property types (flat conversion, bed-sits, detached houses).
- **Financial:** The typical incomes of the area and the likely popularity of personal pensions, bank accounts and credit cards.

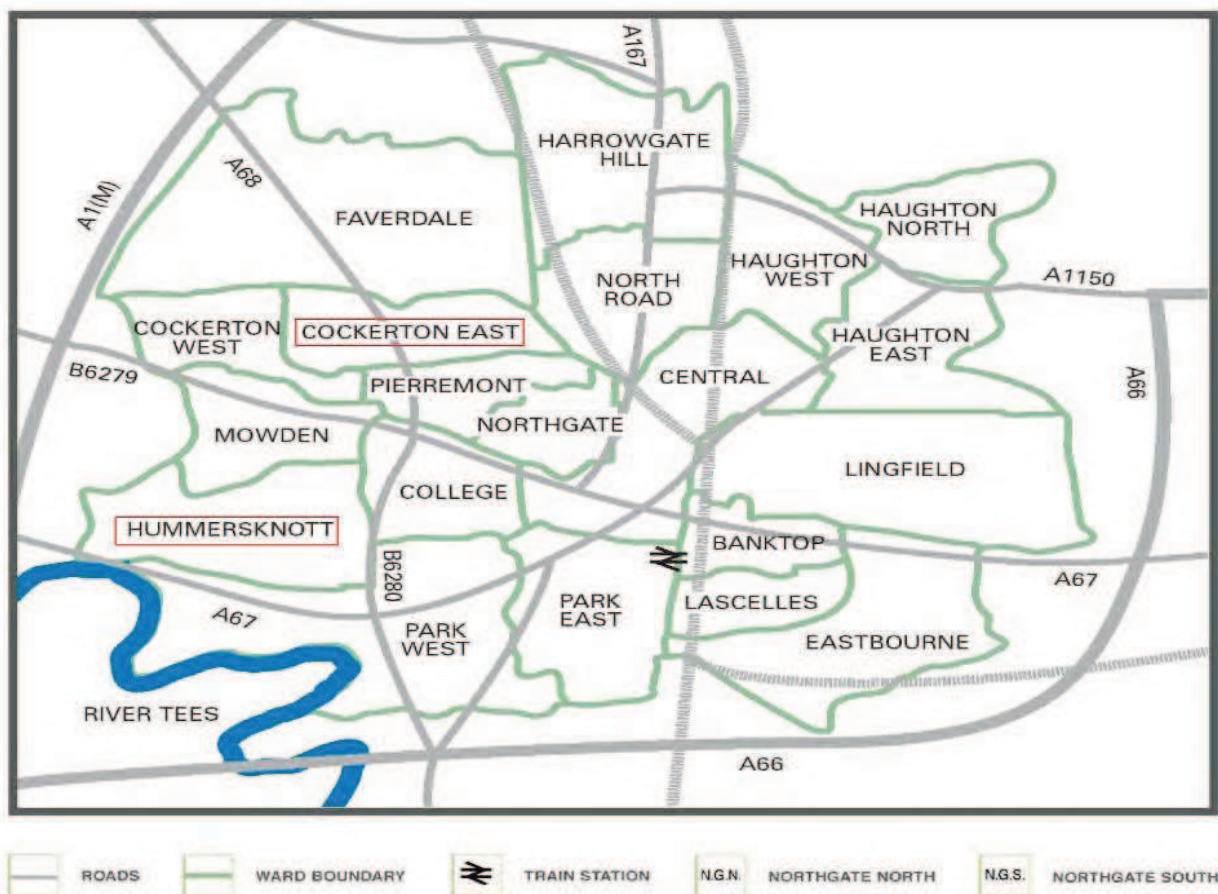
In addition to the categories highlighted above, other factors are addressed, such as the leisure activities of the people living within the specific postcode type (i.e. types of holiday taken, types of entertainment enjoyed etc.). Such leisure activities would map on to the evaluative concepts of social ‘status’ defined by Halsey (1995) and would give an extra depth to the categorisation by

⁴⁴ Full list of ‘ACORN’ classification categories is shown in the Appendix.

class of a certain area in Darlington. However, our interest in selecting two socially different localities extends principally to specific socio-economic factors.

Essentially, the present study requires *two* localities within Darlington, with different social profiles. An equal number of 16 subjects were taken from each area surveyed. In addition to the ACORN profiles, ward demographics were secured from local council records, emphasising differences between wards across the town. Two such wards were highlighted previously in Darlington by Atkinson (2002): Hummersknott and Cockerton East, shown below in the council ward map⁴⁵ in figure 3.1.1:

Figure 3.1.1: Two Darlington wards: Hummersknott and Cockerton East



⁴⁵ Adapted from map taken from www.darlington.gov.uk.

These two wards (highlighted in red) are examined in the next section. Taking a postcode positioned directly in the centre of each of the two areas (both postcodes of subjects used in the pilot study corpus) the differences highlighted by their individual ACORN profiles are shown.

The following discussion deals with the details of the surveys of the two areas.

Although not particularly distant in geographical terms, the differences between the two areas are distinct given the “wealthy suburbs” (a term taken from the area’s ACORN profile) of Hummersknott and the “skilled workers” (again, another term taken from ACORN) of Cockerton East. An employment comparison (from council ward statistics and census material) shows that whilst income levels in Hummersknott are much higher than the national average, this is not the case in Cockerton East⁴⁶. In addition, unemployment in Cockerton East (16%) is over 10% higher than that of the national average (5.3%), whilst in Hummersknott it is nominal.

Table 3.1.1: Selected demographics for both localities in Darlington

Factors	Hummersknott (DL3 8RS)	Cockerton (DL3 0UD)
Detached house average price	£241, 133*	£160, 180*
Average property price	£203, 650*	£94, 321*
Secondary School GCSE Results	61.0% (A-C pass rate)	38.0% (A-C pass rate)

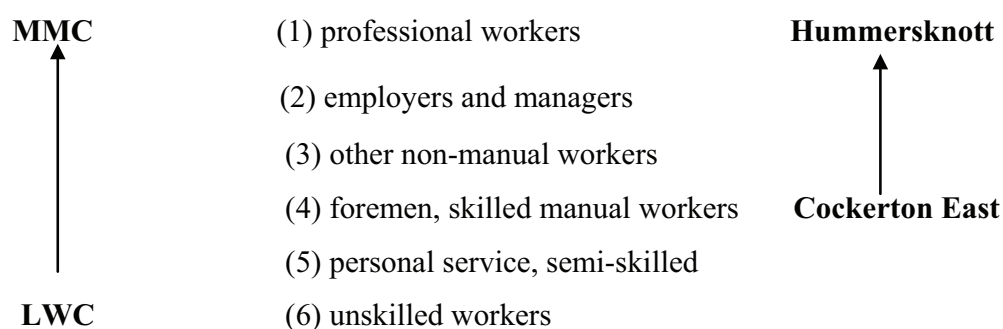
*Figures taken from 2003 prices

Table 3.1.1 shows clear differences between the two areas. It is evident that the average price of housing in Hummersknott (£203,650) is over twice as much as that in the Cockerton postcode. Also, the price of detached housing in Hummersknott is around a half more than that of Cockerton East. These comparisons are just some of the differences between the two areas. What

⁴⁶ Official reports (taken from ASHE (2006)) suggest the average national salary is £22,248: this is challenged by an independent survey carried out by Maestrocard.com who claim this figure to be lower (£19,970). Inhabitants of Hummersknott, given the council ward statistics, have salaries which start at £40,000+ in regard to income, whilst the salary of people living in Cockerton East ranges from £13,000-£19,000.

is evident is that these areas are at opposite poles in terms of income, occupation and house price (three indicators of Trudgill's social class tier system in 1.1.6). Indeed, implementing Trudgill's 'Occupational scale' from his Norwich study in 1972 (seen in figure 1.1.3), we may assume that Cockerton East with its skilled workers is in the range of 4-6, whilst subjects living in Hummersknott can be seen towards the top of the scale covering points 1-2. This is schematised in conjunction with Trudgill's scale in figure 3.1.2:

Figure 3.1.2: Comparison of both Darlington wards with Trudgill's 'scale'



In conclusion, the choice of the two areas has been made due to the diverse social factors which differentiate them. Hummersknott is indicative, using Trudgill's occupation scale, of a middle 'middle class' categorisation, whilst Cockerton East is typically 'working class'. For the remainder of the study, and based upon the internal social indicators noted above, we will refer to each area through the shorthand terms of 'WC' for Cockerton East and 'MC' for Hummersknott. Thus, the two areas would appear to be representative of two socially distinct locales within the Darlington English speech community.

With the three intra-community variables outlined in terms of the methodology for the present study, the following section explores the selection of the 32 speakers from the chosen areas in Darlington.

3.1.4 Details of subject selection

In 3.1 the design for the present study was outlined incorporating four speakers per cell with sixteen speakers chosen from Hummersknott and sixteen from Cockerton East. The use of four speakers per cell, as Watt (1998: 131) suggests, “ensures that should one speaker in the subgroup prove linguistically ‘atypical’ with respect to the other speakers in the group, the (hypothesised) similarity of the other speakers in that group should balance out the anomalies”. The design for the data set, described in 3.2, meant that the data had to be collated using two dyads of socially homogenous speakers per cell. Therefore each pair was the same sex, from the same age group and the same social class (area). The difficulty in selecting 32 speakers and 16 pairs of speakers limited to the parameters seen above was perhaps eased by using a number of the same speakers surveyed in Atkinson (2002)⁴⁷. In that study, speakers were interviewed in inter-group pairs, rather than the prescribed intra-group pairs required for the present study. Fortunately, when the speakers were approached they were able to find a friend within the same age, sex category and from the same area to share conversation. This was the case for the vast majority of the pairs. In this way, pairs were made up of friends, siblings and occasionally friends-of-friends. The process in which the researcher is passed from one informant to another by way of a ‘friend-of-a-friend’ is indicative of a *snowball technique* in which “the good faith of the researcher is guaranteed” (Llamas (2006); cf. also Milroy (1987) and Ammon (2005) for further discussion). For example, in the middle class younger male group, both dyads of speakers were brothers: in the older WC speaker groups, two pairs were also siblings⁴⁸. The selection of paired speakers through interpersonal contacts, is, as Milroy (1987) outlines, more advantageous than random methods of subject selection⁴⁹. Of the 32 subjects, only 10 were known to the author prior to the start of the subject selection.

⁴⁷ Although it may be argued that there may be drawbacks using this system, the design for the present study in no way mimicked that of Atkinson (2002) and therefore the subjects were not conscious of repeating the same format of the previous study. Only four subjects used in Atkinson (2002) were used again in the present study.

⁴⁸ Around half of the informants used in the study were selected using such a technique.

⁴⁹ No payment was given to subjects involved in the study.

A number of other factors in the selection of subjects for the present study were also addressed. Principally, it should be noted that all 32 subjects were of ‘normal hearing and speech’⁵⁰. Thus no speakers were impaired in any way. Hearing is certainly an issue when sampling any elderly subjects (due to the need as an interviewer to give instruction) and especially given the fact that three speakers were 70 years of age, a time at which some hearing loss is inevitable. Allied with this, the mobility of the chosen subjects is also a consideration. This was countered by interviewing speakers in their homes using a Sony 55ES Digital Tape recorder, coupled with radio microphones attached to the subjects’ lapels on their clothing.

Implications of the fieldwork survey and the sequence of data elicitation are outlined in the following section. The matrix of subject selection is shown in table 3.1.2 below, categorising the 32 speakers into specific age, sex and social ‘class’ groups:

⁵⁰ Such information was garnered from subject self-report before commencing with the interviews themselves.

Table 3.1.2: Subject sample matrix⁵¹

CLASS	WORKING CLASS		MIDDLE CLASS	
SEX/ AGE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
YOUNG	MARK (1)	LUCY (5)	SIMON (9)	SOPHIE (13)
YOUNG	ANDREW (1)	SARAH (5)	JOSEPH (9)	JANE (13)
OLD	JACK (2)	JESSICA (6)	MARTIN (10)	PHYLLIS (14)
OLD	THOMAS (2)	DOT (6)	BOB (10)	HEATHER (14)
YOUNG	NIGEL (3)	REBECCA (7)	ANDY (11)	MAUREEN (15)
YOUNG	MATTHEW (3)	GEMMA (7)	MIKE (11)	VANDA (15)
OLD	CHARLES (4)	PAT (8)	JOE (12)	DOREEN (16)
OLD	EDDIE (4)	BETH (8)	RICHARD (12)	NORA (16)

3.2 Design of the data set

The data set comprises five components. The sampling of speech produced by the participants is designed to shed light on two distinct speech styles: formal and informal. Both styles are captured within the present study in order to investigate whether speakers adjust their linguistic behaviour when faced with different degrees of formality. Style, may thus be presented as a fourth independent variable (in addition to age, sex and social class) and is explored below. In

⁵¹ Corresponding numbers in brackets () show pairs of socially homogenous speakers.

terms of the data set, both formal and informal styles are described in 3.2.2. The data set also includes an identities questionnaire (IQ). This component is integral to the findings in Chapter 6 regarding the ideologies associated with the phonological forms of interest in Darlington English speakers and is outlined in Section 3.3.

3.2.1 Sequence of fieldwork

For all 16 dyads recorded in the fieldwork, the following sequence was adhered to and the data elicited:

- (a) Reading word list
- (b) Reading passage
- (c) Identities questionnaire
- (d) Map task
- (e) Free conversation

Each interview lasted approximately one hour, with the free conversation constituting 35-40 minutes of this time (around the time needed to fully capture a realistic amount of differing variants (cf. Guy (1993), Milroy and Gordon 2003)). The informal free conversation (e) is juxtaposed with (a) the formal reading word list: both conditions and their need for inclusion in the present study are discussed in detail in 3.2.2 below, whilst the ‘Identities questionnaire’ (c) is examined in 3.3.

The reading passage (b) was included in the data set in order to capture the informants’ realisations of a number of variables in a formal passage of connected speech. The format for the reading passage was the British version⁵² of the story of *The North Wind and the Sun*. The full transcript of this data-set is found in the Appendix. Principally, the story contains many of the features under scrutiny within the present study. The variables highlighted within the reading passage are shown in table 3.2.1 below, giving a total of 53 tokens of interest. The majority consisted of TH-fronting (a process by which interdental fricatives [θ/ð] are ‘fronted’ to become labiodental fricatives [f/v] in words such as *the* and *thatch*) tokens (28 tokens: given the

⁵² Slight differences are seen in the orthography between the British and American versions of the story.

amount of ‘*the*’ lexical items (27 tokens), in addition to the production of the word ‘*north*’), whilst variables such as the lateral production (*l*), velar nasal (i.e. the production of *–ing* (symbolised phonetically as [ŋ]), as opposed to simply [n]) and CURE vowel variants were not present in the reading passage. However, GOAT and FACE vowels, as well as (t) in intervocalic and word final position and word-initial (h) were included:

Table 3.2.1: Variables and tokens elicited in reading passage

(1) TH-fronting	28 tokens
(2) t-word final (pre-pausal)	7 tokens
(3) t-word medial (intervocalic)	3 tokens
(4) Word-initial (h)	6 tokens
(5) GOAT vowel	5 tokens
(6) FACE vowel	4 tokens

In (d), the map-task was based upon a method used by Anderson et al (1991), consisting of both giving and receiving information between the members of each dyad. However, the data collected from the map-task was not used in the final results section; rather the task was used as an attempt to ‘ease’ speakers into the more informal free conversation in (e). The following section outlines the rationale behind the investigation of (a) the reading word list and (e) free conversation.

3.2.2 Style

In order to capture true linguistic variation of a particular speech community, no matter what style, sociolinguists seek to capture the truly naturalistic speech of the individual. As Labov (1972: 61) states, we require speech to be “casual, natural and spontaneous”. However, the most significant conundrum for the sociolinguist is capturing this naturalistic speech, whilst in the presence of the informants themselves. As Labov (1972) notes, the very act of ‘being observed’ will affect the ‘casual, natural and spontaneous’ nature of the desired speech the sociolinguist wishes to attain. Speakers whose awareness of the ‘observer’ is apparent may tend to change

their speech toward a more overtly prestigious norm, correcting overtly stigmatized forms such as glottal (t) ([ʔ]) for example. Indeed, speakers with regional accents on which many studies are focused, may overtly perceive negative values associated with their accent and consequently adapt perhaps to a more ‘standard’ production (for example in the context of England, possibly a less locally marked realisation of a certain variant). From a methodological perspective this ‘observer’s paradox’ (Labov 1972) is very difficult to stabilise or counteract. Many studies, as Llamas (2006: 15) states, have effectively used techniques which reduce the affect of ‘being observed’ (cf. Docherty et al. (1997), Stuart-Smith (1999)). Such methods involve leaving recording apparatus with pairs of speakers and asking them to discuss subjects of their choosing, thus diminishing the need for a fieldworker. However, the fact that recording equipment is even present is enough to suggest that such methods are not an immediate answer to the ‘*paradox*’. Covert recordings of speaker style may raise several ethical issues. This method of recording does significantly reduce the paradox, as the subjects are obviously unaware of ‘being observed’ and was utilised to good effect by Labov (1966) in the department stores of New York. However, the range of styles, limit of linguistic data and lack of knowledge of speaker background, suggest that in terms of the present study, Labov’s method is inappropriate.

In the present study, the dyads of speakers were recorded in the presence of the author. The author was born and raised in Darlington. The question of a sociolinguist researching his/her home town locale can have positives and negatives. The identification of the two socially polarised areas within Darlington (highlighted in 3.1.3) was facilitated by the local knowledge of the author, as was, in the majority of cases, the ease of access to subjects and consequently their social history. Conversely, the presence of the ‘home-town’ author as the fieldworker in each of the 16 dyads can be perceived as being counter-productive in regard to capturing the naturalistic language required. Indeed, Trudgill (1981) notes that in one interview from his 1974 study of Norwich, he appears to accommodate to one speaker, who in turn converges to Trudgill. For the present study, the author’s role of interviewer was limited to initiating starter questions for discussion between each pair of speakers when previous discussions had been exhausted. The most frequent involvement of the author was in the role of an interviewer for the Identities Questionnaire: the affect of the author’s speech upon that of the informants is thus arguably

minimal due to the fact that qualitative (speaker attitudes) and not quantitative data (linguistic variants) was elicited. The full description of the ‘Identities questionnaire’ is provided in 3.2.3.

In terms of the present study, two distinct styles are of interest. The first is a formal style which is harnessed in the form of a reading word list. The reading word list (RWL) is, as Watt (1998: 102) notes, “somewhat artificial, and requires a good deal of attention and care [on the part of the speaker]”. Furthermore, Watt (1998: 102-3) in relation to the attention paid by speakers in such a method of elicitation, proffers a very salient argument vis a vis the relevance of age:

“...tasks of this sort are common in school settings...it is not surprising that adult speakers will associate reading aloud with the ideas of ‘correctness’, ‘clarity of enunciation’ and ‘propriety’ that are instilled in them while during childhood. This effect may be exaggerated for older speakers, since over the last three decades a general relaxation of attitudes toward language variation has resulted from, or perhaps resulted *in*, a reduction in the teaching of formal grammar and pronunciation to children, and a greater tolerance of previously highly stigmatised spoken forms.”

Thus, given the generational difference between the ‘young’ (20-27 years) and ‘old’ (50-70 years), we may hypothesise that in Darlington English, the older speaking groups may provide the higher amounts of variants deemed as ‘standard’ forms: the recognition of ‘talking normally’ and ‘talking properly’ is, as Watt (1998: 103) concludes, “probably less marked for younger speakers today”. The use of informal, continuous speech will provide a useful comparison to the formal RWL and both styles will highlight patterns of switching or symmetry. Methodologies for (a) reading word list and (e) free conversation are outlined below.

The reading word list comprised 120 lexical items. The items were separated (but not on the list itself) into ‘token’ and ‘distracter’ words. Given the nature of word lists, ‘distracter’ words were used in order to minimise any patterns which may have formed in the speakers’ minds whilst reading the word list. The words were assembled into four columns of equal length and the subjects were then asked to read down each column from left to right. Disregarding the distracter words, the list comprised a set of variables of interest, based upon variables which have been highlighted in previous studies of areas within the North-East (cf. Watt (1998), Watt and Milroy (1999), Llamas (2001)) and along lines where possible variation may occur. The variable sets and total number of tokens are shown in table 3.2.2:

Table 3.2.2: Variable sets & token totals put forward for pilot study

Variable Name	Token Total
(1) Word-initial (h)	4
(2) Word-final (t)	24
(3) Word-medial (t)	10
(4) Intervocalic (k,p)	6
(5) TH fronting	11
(6) Velar nasal	7
(7) (L) positions (intervocalic/word final)	12
(8) CURE vowel	4
(9) FACE vowel	10
(10) GOAT vowel	6

A total of ten variable sets were embedded, with a sum of 94 tokens within the word list. All items were then transcribed (discussed below) and token numbers were totalled per person. The word list can be found in the Appendix.

The conversational data, as noted above, consisted of 35-40 minutes of free conversation between two homogenous speakers (i.e. speakers matched for age, sex and class). There was little interruption from the interviewer (the author), although there were occasions where, when a specific conversational topic had drawn to a close, starter questions incorporating both speakers (i.e. “*where did you meet?*”/“*where did you grow up?*” etc.) were proffered. The conversation was ‘free’, meaning it was informal and unscripted. The specifics of transcription within both sets are outlined below in 3.2.3.

3.2.3 Transcription

Transcription of both styles of speech was conducted during the period of February 2004 to January 2005. Within the formal (reading word list/reading passage) and informal transcription

(‘free’ conversation), a narrow transcription was made of the entire word in which one or more of the chosen variables were found. The orthographic transcription of the entire free conversation was necessary, given the differing contexts in which, for example, vowels occur (cf. 5.1.5 and 5.2.2). In the free conversation, orthographic transcriptions were made of the 35-40 minute conversations: phonetic transcriptions (using IPA symbols) of the entire conversation were then made in conjunction with this orthographic transcription. There were no limits on the number of tokens per speaker in the analysis of the free conversation. In the case of word-initial (h) tokens, a binary decision during transcription was used, whilst in both word final and word medial (t), four or more variants were evident (cf. 5.4-5). In the case of vocalic variables, the narrow transcription of variables gave rise to a large number of variants: these were collapsed into a smaller number of broadly based categories, with the aim of easing the process of testing for statistical significance (cf. 5.1.0 and 5.2.0).

The subjective nature of transcription is important to highlight. As Ochs (1979: 44) suggests, “transcription of any kind is invariably a selective process, reflecting underlying theoretical goals and assumptions”. Such subjectivity is inherent within the auditory analysis employed in the current study: a description of which was outlined in 1.5.0. One shortcoming of the vocalic data is seen in the lack of acoustic plots for the differing variants. This reflects what Watt (1998: 135) describes as the “trade-off” between phonetic objectivity and social breadth”. Our interest in the present study is to assess the distribution of specific variants within variables of interest, noting in particular which social groups prefer which variants. The main aim of the present study is to assess a range of linguistic variables in Darlington English from which we may compare and contrast similar variables across a number of neighbouring North-Eastern areas. Thus, our main interest is to compare distributions of similar linguistic variants in Darlington, Middlesbrough and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Individual spectrograms of each variant were however produced by acoustic analysis with a view to highlighting the differences between them⁵³, therefore vindicating the choice of variant and its auditory analysis.

⁵³ Spectrograms were recorded using a single Darlington English male speaker.

3.2.4 Re-transcription

Re-transcription of the data was conducted some time after the original transcription and after the results of the pilot study seen in 4.1 (August 2005 – March 2006). The reading word list (RWL) was re-transcribed three times per speaker (thus 32 RWLs), whilst the ‘free’ conversation (16) was re-transcribed once, by the author. The re-transcription of the FC was restricted purely to the linguistic variables under scrutiny in Chapter 5. The results for consistency of re-transcription in both styles are shown in table 3.2.3:

Table 3.2.3: Percentage rates of deviation between re-transcriptions

Style	Re-transcription (% deviation)		
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
RWL	6%	2%	0%
FC	3.2%		

Milroy and Gordon (2003: 144) state that, “with repeated listening (...) the investigator was able to train him/herself to recognise the variants of a given linguistic variable.” The diminishing deviations in table 3.2.3 show that Milroy and Gordon’s observation is true of the present study. The re-transcription of the free conversation is difficult given the rapidity and overlap among speakers and warrants close attention. The 3.2% deviation in transcription however, with 12,389 tokens of linguistic interest (the 3.2% deviation being 370 tokens) was seen as being minimal. In addition to the re-transcription, variants of both vowels and five (t) environments highlighted by the author were isolated and re-transcribed by three experienced transcribers, who were, on the whole, in agreement with the transcription of the variants. The following section addresses the final issue of analysis of both formal and informal styles, that of statistical analysis.

3.2.5 Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis was carried out using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The aim of such analysis is to highlight whether there is any significance within any phonological patterning and the three social variables of age, sex and social class. Within the results found in Chapter 5, both log linear tests and Pearson correlation coefficients were implemented. The main advantage of employing log linear tests is that they can cope with *more than one* independent variable being present (cf. Guy (1993: 237)). Log linear models, whilst computing the effect of one independent variable [e.g. age], are also able to consider all other factors simultaneously, thus measuring the interaction between one or more independent variables⁵⁴. Thus, in terms of the present study, the use of log linear tests will not only assess significance of class on the use of the GOAT vowel, for example, but also whether class and age combine to create an influence on the use of the vowel (for an extended discussion on general logit linear models, Christensen (1997) provides an excellent review on this subject).

When comparing stylistic implications, particularly in vocalic variables, a Pearson correlation coefficient (denoted by r) was used with the aim of assessing the relationship between both styles. Pearson correlation coefficients compare two sets of continuous data (i.e. group token use in RWL (X) versus FC (Y)), giving a final coefficient which assesses the linearity of both sets of data. The value of the correlation coefficient (r) may vary between -1 and +1. If the coefficient is +1, then both sets of figures share a positive relationship and are perfectly correlated. Our interest lies in whether there is a relationship between RWL and FC use across all eight speaker groups.

Whilst statistical analysis tests hypotheses regarding differences across groups of speakers or conditions, one school of thought within sociolinguistics suggests that such use of computational packages and data management delimits the true nature of sociolinguistic enquiry. Wolfram (1993: 203) presents such an argument, suggesting that:

⁵⁴ For further explanation, with a range of working examples, see Statsoft's description of log-linear models: <http://www.statsoft.com/textbook/log-linear-analysis-frequency-tables/> .

“...the current emphasis on variable manipulation simply through the production of more powerful computers runs the risk of turning variation studies into a type of methodological reductionism, camouflaged by the sophistication of the quantitative management programs...[I]t is important for language variationists to be good linguists and good sociolinguists, not simply good collectors of data or good number crunchers”.

As Milroy and Gordon (2003: 168) suggest, and, alongside descriptive analysis employed in the present study, statistical tests are seen as a “quantitative tool with the objective of emphasising patterns/trends which occur within the results”. Both descriptive and statistical analyses are employed within the current study to provide a comprehensive approach to highlighting these specific patterns.

The following section discusses the final part of the data set of the present study.

3.3 Identities Questionnaire (IdQ)

The Identities questionnaire (IdQ) was third in the sequence of the data set undertaken within the fieldwork and was designed to elicit qualitative data concerning accent and identity in Darlington⁵⁵. The following section discusses the rationale behind the use of such a method of elicitation, as well as the design and implementation of this questionnaire within the fieldwork.

3.3.1 Aims and objectives

The IdQ deals with the attitudinal issues surrounding the accent and regional identity of Darlington English speakers and corresponds to the micro-level of analysis highlighted in Chapter 1. In 1.3, the discussion focussed on how individuals are not only characterised by the intra-community variables of age, sex and ‘class’, but also by language ideologies (specifically through regionality and place (Brown and Levinson 1979)). Specifically, the present study aims to address how speakers assess which linguistic forms index their particular social identities (Silverstein 1992). Thus an examination into which linguistic forms are overtly recognised by

⁵⁵ The decision to include the IdQ third within the data set was due to the fact that the questionnaire used both subject and interrogator-based speech. Both previous segments of the RWL and reading passage relied on 100% subject speech; the nature of the IdQ was such that it was used as a break between the formal styles previously and the informal free conversation.

Darlington English speakers through attitudinal responses and how these phonological forms are evaluated by specific social groups is required. The IdQ also addresses variation within the speech community of Darlington, eliciting information into each of the three extra-linguistic factors of age, sex and ‘class’ use, as well as processes such as accommodation (cf. 1.5.1).

In essence, as well as broadening the present analysis of phonological variation in Darlington English, the Identities questionnaire will add to the current trend of studies investigating language ideology (Llamas (1998), (2001), (2006), Burbano-Elizondo (2008), Dyer (2000), Pichler (2005)). The findings from the IdQ are examined in 6.1.

3.3.2 Method and structure

Two types of questionnaire are used within ‘traditional’ dialectology; the ‘on-the-spot’ transcription of responses to a questionnaire elicited by a trained fieldworker and the postal questionnaire (Chambers and Trudgill (1998)). The disadvantage in terms of the present study with the latter (postal questionnaire) is the reliability of self-reported data as well as the absence of a fieldworker and the lack of spontaneity in responses. Chambers (1994) (and Chambers and Trudgill (1998)) contests this position, stating that written questionnaires and in particular postal questionnaires are ‘efficient’ and that questionnaires collated by fieldworkers may be open to bias on the part of the fieldworker. This position was eased in the present study by (a) the use of recording equipment and (b) a set of structured questions which are not open to influence on the part of the interrogator. Each question was termed in exactly the same way when asked to each speaker. In addition to this, the use of recording equipment and prompting by the interrogator eased the ‘categorical responses,’ which Milroy and Gordon (2003: 52) see as indicative of written questionnaires⁵⁶. The influence of the interrogator (in this case the author) is not in question here, given the fact that the prescribed set of questions limited the threat of deviation from the informants’ answers and that the linguistic behaviour of the speakers is not in question here.

⁵⁶ Indeed, the questionnaire method used for the present study eliminates any question of written material on the part of the subjects, which Milroy and Gordon describe as “advantageous given the amount of illiteracy” (2003: 52). The question of whether any of the 32 subjects were not able to write however was not of primary importance.

The questionnaire based on that of Llamas (1998), which is split into two sections, (a) ‘Your language’ and (b) ‘Your area’ and consisted of eleven questions.

Subjects were prompted by the author (as the interlocutor) about issues concerning personal impressions of their accents, as well as giving opinions concerning accents in areas such as Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Middlesbrough, Durham and North Yorkshire. The IDQ constituted:

Your Accent

- (1) If you were to describe your accent what would you describe it as?
- (2) Do you like your accent?
- (3) If you could change your accent, what would you change and why?
- (4) If someone described you/your accent as being Geordie – how would you feel?
- (5) If someone described you/your accent as being Teesside(r) how would you feel?
- (6) What are the differences, if any, between your accent and Geordie?
- (7) What are the differences, if any, between your accent and Teesside?

Your Area

- (8) Do you consider yourself to be a Darlingtonian, Durhamer, Teessider, Geordie or a Yorkshire(wo)man?
- (9) If you were on holiday anywhere in the country or abroad – where would you say you came from?
- (10) Would you say Darlington is an individual area or part of a larger area?
- (11) Would you term yourself a Darlingtonian first and a North-Easterner second or vice-versa?

In conclusion, the identities questionnaire gives the subjects an opportunity to express their feelings regarding not only their own individual accent, but also opinions regarding accents other

than Darlington English. The subjects were not timed on this specific part of the data set and were urged to freely express their feelings, giving scope for more detailed opinions. The results for this questionnaire are discussed in 6.1.

The next section details how the variables chosen were arrived at using the methodology outlined above, through a pilot study based on that found in Watt (1998). The pilot study is discussed in 4.1.

CHAPTER FOUR: LINGUISTIC VARIABLE SELECTION

4.0 Introduction

The following chapter describes the selection of variables for the present study. Section 4.1 details a range of variables included within a pilot study which was designed to enable the selection of variables suitable for survey in the full study. In section 4.2, an overview of the sociolinguistic background and history is provided for each of the final variables selected.

4.1 PILOT STUDY

The present pilot study set out to highlight patterns or trends within the speech of individuals categorised by age, sex, or social ‘class’. Such patterns were analysed in order to highlight the variables to be focused on within the full study and those which did not immediately warrant further investigation or for which further investigation would be impractical. In addition, as Milroy and Gordon (2003: 141) state, a pilot study can “help identify unexpected difficulties of many kinds and offer guidelines to overall design”. The use of a pilot study in Milroy’s study in Belfast was deemed helpful in isolating relevant linguistic and speaker variables (cf. Milroy and Milroy (1978)).

The pilot study for the present investigation was completed between January and July 2005. As with Watt (1998), the pilot study made use of a sub-set of tasks as outlined in 3.2.1, namely (1) the reading word list and (2) intra-group conversation (Free Conversation: henceforth ‘FC’). The two conditions created contrasting styles from which to explore the amount of variation within certain variables. The criteria for examination of linguistic variables in the pilot study were (a) sufficient diversification across speakers to suggest that the variable may warrant a more in-depth investigation; (b) sufficiently frequent tokens so that collection of a reasonably-sized sample of data would be feasible; (c) variables which could be compared with findings from other locales in the North-East.

With this in mind, the report of the pilot study takes the following form:

- (i) Selection of linguistic variables
- (ii) Subset subject selection
- (iii) Transcription details
 - (1) Reading word list
 - (2) Conversation
 - (3) Transcription problems
- (iv) Analysis of phonological variables
- (v) Eliminated variables
- (vi) Retained variables
- (vii) Summary of study outcomes

4.1.1 (i) Selection of linguistic variables

The decision about which linguistic variables to focus on was based upon two factors. The first was the only pre-existing source of information on dialectological variation in the area of Darlington: the Survey of English Dialects (SED), conducted by Orton and Dieth (1963). The SED described the properties of rural dialects across the Counties of England and the Isle of Man⁵⁷. In the Darlington area four villages were investigated: (1) Witton-le-Wear (fifteen miles north-west of Darlington), (2) Bishop Middleham (twelve miles north-east), (3) Eggleston (twenty five miles west), and (4) Melsonby (seven miles south)⁵⁸. These four areas are positioned around Darlington and are highlighted in figure 4.1:

⁵⁷ Orton's rationale for the survey of rural villages and indeed the males surveyed within them was based upon those speakers using the 'purest' form of linguistic behaviour in that particular area due to the lack of social and geographical mobility.

⁵⁸ It should be noted that location (4) is in closer proximity to Darlington than locations (1) and (3).

Figure 4.1: Four SED areas surrounding the town of Darlington



Phonetic inventories of these areas were compiled from the results of the SED in order to highlight any variables which varied significantly across the four areas.

The second factor was to compare and contrast certain phonological variables that have proven to be significant within other North Eastern areas (specifically Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Middlesbrough and Durham). This was done in order to gain an insight into whether Darlington exhibits similar patterns of variation as has been found in these areas. Aside from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Middlesbrough and Durham, there is a relative paucity of relevant sociolinguistic

survey in a number of other North-Eastern urban areas⁵⁹. This is particularly true south of Darlington.

The next section outlines the linguistic features of the four SED areas in closest proximity to Darlington.

4.1.2 Vowel systems of SED areas surrounding Darlington

Seven vowels were analysed⁶⁰. Wells' (1982) lexical sets were employed⁶¹, noting vocalic usage across the four SED areas. Significant variation was however found in the diphthongs of FACE, GOAT:

- The FACE vowel had a range of variants including [eə] in Witton-le-Wear (north Durham) and the monophthongal [e:] variety in Melsonby (North Yorkshire).
- The GOAT vowel was realised in Witton-le-Wear as [o:], contrasted with the centring diphthong of Bishop Middleham and Eggleston ([ʊə]) and the diphthong of Melsonby ([ɒʊ]).
- Within the RP monophthongal set of vowels (BEAT, BOOT, NURSE, CART and NORTH), there were significant differences between the four areas and especially between north (Witton-le-Wear) and south (Melsonby). The differences between south Durham and north Yorkshire can be seen in the set of vowels shown in table 4.1:

⁵⁹ Burbano-Elizondo's study of Sunderland (2008) is also a relevant survey within the North-East.

⁶⁰ No variation was noted in the following vocalic variables: BIT, BET, PUT, BAT, LOT ([ɪ, ɛ, ʊ, a, ɒ]).

⁶¹ Wells' "lexical sets" are based on the concept of standard lexical sets outlined in his 'Accents of English' (1982). Wells explains (cf. www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/accents_spellingreform.htm) that each keyword, shown in capital letters, equates to hundreds or thousands of lexical items employing the vowel sound in question - e.g. FACE would cover a number of other lexical items, such as 'case', 'way', 'plane' etc.

Table 4.1: SED vowel sets for four surrounding areas⁶²

	RP	Witton-le-Wear (Durham)	Melsonby (Yorkshire)	Eggleson (Durham)	Bishop Middleham (Durham)
BEAT	i:	ɪ-i	əɪ	ɪ-i	i
BOOT	u:	u:	u:	u:	u
NURSE	ɜ	ə:	ə:	ə:	ə:
CART	ɑ:	æ:	a:	æ:	æ:
NORTH	ɔ:	ɔ-ə	ɔ:	ɔ-ə	ɔ-ə
FACE	eɪ	eə	e:	eə	e:-eə
GOAT	əʊ	o:	ɒʊ	ʊə	ʊə

Within the vowel BEAT, the Melsonby realisation was diphthongised from the monophthong of RP, whereas both [i] and the more open production of [ɪ] were produced in Witton-le-Wear. A difference in length of pronunciation of [u] in BOOT was also seen between the two accents. In CART the Durham and Melsonby productions differed from that of an RP realisation, with Witton-le-Wear producing a closer and fronter sound, whilst speakers in Melsonby produced [a:]. It is interesting to note that all four areas use ‘fronted’ variants of CART, there is no evidence of the back vowel [ɔ:] found in Tyneside (cf. Watt and Milroy 1999). Both FACE and GOAT vowels are realised mainly by the diphthongs [eə/ʊə], (although the Melsonby speaker uses the diphthong [ɒʊ]). The monophthong [o:] is used in the north Durham area for GOAT, whilst the monophthong [e:] is used in Melsonby for FACE. Thus, there is significant variation

⁶² Transcriptions are those found in volume one of the SED (Orton and Dieth 1963).

in the seven vowels within the four areas around Darlington to suggest that further investigation of vowel variation would be justified within Darlington itself.

Further to the inventory of the SED vowels, the next section describes the consonantal systems of the four surrounding areas.

4.1.3 Consonantal systems of SED areas surrounding Darlington

- (h) - Within the four areas, *word-initial* (h) varied considerably:

 Witton-le-Wear: (h) maintained
 Bishop Middleham: (h) maintained
 Eggleston: Variable loss
 Melsonby: Total loss (*both* in proper nouns and unstressed pronouns)
- (ŋ) - Velar nasal⁶³ was almost completely absent throughout the four areas. It was replaced with [n] in word final position
- (t) - *Word initial*: Melsonby and Witton-le-Wear speakers employed dental /t/ ([t̪]), whereas Bishop Middleham and Eggleston speakers produce released [t] as alveolar [t].
- (t) - *Word final*⁶⁴: Speakers from all four sites produced [t] in word final position with no instances of [ʔ].
- (t) - *Word medial*: Witton-le-Wear produced glottalised /t/ ([t̚]) on a number of occasions, whilst the three speakers from the remaining areas use [t].

4.1.4 Other contemporary North-Eastern sociolinguistic studies

The most recent sociolinguistic study within an area in close proximity to Darlington was Llamas (2001), which surveyed the area of Middlesbrough. The study investigated consonantal features of Middlesbrough English, including (TH) fronting, the approximant (r) and (t) in turn-final and pre-pausal position, as well as other voiceless plosives (p/k). For TH-fronting, Llamas

⁶³ Velar nasal was only analysed in word-final position in the SED.

⁶⁴ Specifically, the tokens elicited from the SED were taken from single word utterances and are therefore termed ‘pre-pausal’, although this was not the term used by Orton and Dieth (1963).

investigated the shift in realisation from (th) and (dh) to the fronted variants of [f/v]. The results highlighted that the use of [f/v] was “very restricted...and there was no increased use noted between the adolescents and the young adults” (2001: 237). The pilot study for the present study will reveal whether a survey of this feature is relevant in Darlington. In addition, Llamas investigated (t) in pre-pausal and turn-final position. Llamas found adoption of previously unreported variants of (t) into Middlesbrough English accent, specifically ‘pre-aspirated’ (t) [Ht] was used primarily by younger speakers. Furthermore, two further voiceless stops were surveyed: (p) and (k). Llamas found however, that “(t) is the most susceptible of the three stops to glottalisation” (2000: 157). This was seen particularly in younger speakers (especially males, whose glottalling in pre-pausal position is higher than 80%). This pattern mirrored that of Docherty et al. (1997) in their investigation of glottalling and glottalisation conducted in Tyneside⁶⁵. The findings of Docherty et al. (1997) and further regional studies are outlined below in 4.4.

Watt (1998) examined five vocalic variables employed by native Newcastle-upon-Tyne speakers (GOAT, FACE, NURSE, FLEECE and GOOSE (using Wells’ lexical sets). Specifically in GOAT and FACE, Watt discovered that the peripheral monophthongs [o:] and [e:] were replacing localised diphthongised forms such as [ʊə] and [ɪə] moving towards what he analysed as a ‘pan northern’ set of vowels in both lexical items as was discussed in more detail above in 1.5.1.

Both studies provide a valuable context for the present study by addressing variables which are relevant within the performance of speakers from other urban centres in the North East⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ As well as (t), (p) and (k) were also regularly glottalised in Tyneside English.

⁶⁶ Also, Kerswill’s survey of Durham English (1984, 1987) includes use of both GOAT and FACE vowels and is compared in Chapter 7.

4.1.5 (ii) Subject subset selection

As with Watt (1998), the subset selection of speakers totalled eight, a quarter of the total number required for the full study. Each individual speaker belonged to a single cell of the main sample design (sub-categorised by social class, age and sex). The matrix of speakers is outlined in table 4.2:

Table 4.2: Subject matrix for pilot study

	Working-Class		Middle-Class	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Young	Mark	Lucy	Simon	Sophie
Old	Jack	Jessica	Martin	Phyllis

Social class was classified as either (a) “working class” (WC) or (b) “middle class” (MC). The differentiation between both shorthand categories was examined above in 3.1.3). Subjects from the area of Cockerton East were given a “WC” tag, whilst subjects from Hummersknott were given a “MC” tag.

4.1.6 (iii) Transcription details: Reading Word List

The reading word list (RWL), identical to the main corpus set material (outlined in 3.2), consisted of 120 lexical items (cf. Appendix). The list was designed with the intention of accumulating tokens of a relatively large set of variables.

The consonantal variables investigated in the RWL were: (1) word-initial (h), (2) (t) word medial, (3) (t) word final, (4) intervocalic (k, p) (5) (TH) fronting, (6) lateral (/l) and (7) velar

nasal. Tokens of FACE and GOAT, CART, NURSE, NORTH, BOOT and BEAT were included in the RWL.

4.1.7 Conversation

The free conversation (FC) consisted of 35-40 minutes of interaction, taken from the main recordings outlined in the study design (Chapter 3), between two speakers matched for social class, age and sex. Only tokens from one of these speakers were used for the purposes of the pilot study. In terms of the number of tokens for each linguistic variable, Guy (1980: 58) recommends, “a minimum of thirty tokens of each variable [should be used] in studies of this kind”. This methodological procedural issue is discussed further by Milroy and Gordon claiming that:

“if the number of tokens is lower than 10, there is a strong likelihood of random fluctuation, whilst a figure higher than 10 moves towards 90 percent conformity with the predicted norm, rising to 100 percent with 35 tokens”. (2003: 164)

The pilot study ensured that the minimum amount of tokens per speaker in the main study was 35 (as in Milroy and Gordon 2003). This feature formed part of the rationale for retaining or disregarding a variable: if a feature *did not* reach thirty-five tokens, it would not be used in the main corpus. As items from the lexical sets of both FACE and GOAT occurred frequently this was not a problem: however, this was not the case for the CURE vowel for which tokens were limited. As some of the results from the RWL establish, the variables chosen may not in fact vary. This was seen in the results for (/l/) in which (/l/) was ‘clear’ ([l]) for around 85% in all positions. A similar figure was seen for labiodental variant in ‘th’ form. This may be mirrored in the FC itself giving a situation which would lead to elimination of a certain feature. No limitations on the number of identical lexical items were implemented. The rationale for the pilot study was to probe the variability within words containing specific phonological variables potentially of interest to Darlington English. Transcription took the form of a two-stage process. Each conversation was orthographically transcribed. Following this, a phonetic transcription was performed alongside the orthographic transcription, giving a two-line format of the speakers’ conversation. Details of transcription and re-transcription are reviewed in 3.2.3 and 3.2.4.

4.1.8 Transition difficulties from RWL to conversation

Due to the lack of controlled structure in the free conversation, variables of interest within the RWL sometimes did not reappear in sufficient numbers within the more informal FC style. A low frequency of tokens in the conversation led to the specific features' elimination from further investigation in the present study. In light of this and also taking in to account the variables used in Watt (1998) and Llamas (2000), five specific variables emerged as warranting further investigation. The variables are listed in table 4.3. The chosen variables are highlighted:

Table 4.3: Five variables under consideration

READING WORD LIST	CONVERSATION
H-DROPPING	(1) H-DROPPING
T-WORD MEDIAL	(2) T-WORD MEDIAL
T-WORD FINAL	(3) T-WORD FINAL
INTERVOCALIC K/P	
TH-FRONTING	
GOAT VOWEL	(4) GOAT VOWEL
FACE VOWEL	(5) FACE VOWEL
CURE VOWEL	
/L/ POSITIONS	
VELAR NASAL	

The following section outlines the findings from both the reading word list and the conversational data for the variables detailed above. The eliminated variables from the survey of linguistic variables are outlined below.

4.1.9 (iv) Analysis of phonological variables: eliminated variables

(i) (ING) and (ii) (TH) fronting

There was little fluctuation within these two variables in the RWL. In TH-fronting and the velar nasal, only the working class males' recordings yielded any variation. In the former feature, only Mark showed any evidence of fronting (only two instances) of the dental fricatives (voiced and voiceless), whilst producing [n] for [ŋ] only once in word final position. The lack of variation across the speakers led to the elimination of both linguistic variables from the present study.

(iii) (p), (k) variability

Certain instances of possible glottal reinforcement of (p) and (k) in intervocalic positions were noted in the older male WC speaker (Jack). This variant however, in words such as '*damping*', was not found in the same speaker's conversational data or in any of the other speakers' RWL or free conversational data. In conclusion, this specific feature receives no further investigation, whilst variability in (t) usage will be investigated in more detail.

(iv) /l/ in all positions

In all, a total of 12 /l/ tokens were recorded per speaker in word-final and intervocalic positions: therefore giving a total of 96 tokens. During transcription, tokens were recorded as either 'clear' (alveolar approximant with neutral tongue body positioning) or 'dark' (alveolar approximant with raised tongue body positioning). With the exception of Jack, *all* speakers in the older subject set produced clear /l/ in all positions. Only ten instances of velarised (ɫ) were realised with younger speakers producing nine of these.

Although there was a degree of variation within the variable of /l/, the lack of any contemporary studies of /l/ in the North-East against which to compare the Darlington data led to this variable not being investigated in the full study.

(v) CURE vowel

Two variants of the CURE vowel were found in the data: (1) a diphthong [ʊə] – similar to the diphthong noted in Tyneside by Watt and Milroy (1999) and (2) a production transcribed as [ʊ_wə] where [w] was evident between [ʊ] and [ə]. However, in the RWL, little variation was noted. Of the total of thirty-two CURE vowel tokens (four tokens per speaker), only three instances of [ʊ_wə] were noted, produced by both young and old females. The problem with stylistic investigation lies in the lack of lexical items found in the conversational data. This was seen in the results of the first two speakers' conversational data, with only one token of the CURE vowel in a total of around 40 minutes of recorded conversation. The vowel was therefore eliminated from enquiry in the present study.

4.1.10 Analysis of phonological variables: retained variables

(i) Word-initial (h)

From Atkinson (2002), there were already indications that there was sufficient variability of (h) in word-initial position to warrant investigation. The geographical position of Darlington, lying as it does between the historically (h) retaining area of Durham and the typically “(h) less” area of Yorkshire, suggests that ‘(h) dropping’ might well be an interesting variable to examine in this study. Milroy (1983) suggests that the River Tees corresponds to the linguistic isogloss of (h) dropping between these two areas. The total of thirty-two (h) initial tokens in the RWL were all retained by every speaker.

Table 4.4: Word-initial (h) across two stylistic conditions

Speaker	[h] FC	[Ø] FC	% Retained FC	[h] RWL	Ø RWL	% Retained RWL
Mark WCYM	15	160	9.3	4	0	100
Jack WCOM	53	87	37.8	4	0	100
Lucy WCYF	70	34	67.3	4	0	100
Jessica WCOF	61	63	49.2	4	0	100
Simon MCYM	46	6	88.4	4	0	100
Martin MCOM	72	32	69.2	4	0	100
Sophie MCYF	82	12	87.2	4	0	100
Phyllis MCOF	82	4	95.3	4	0	100

Variability of conversational word-initial (h)-loss in FC and RWL is evident from table 4.4. The working class use was evident with the very low percentage realisation by Mark (9.3%) and again, in his older male counterparts' speech, Jack (37.8%). Jessica, the working class older female, retained less than 50% of (h), whilst Lucy's use of [h] was the highest in the WC. With 67.3% [h], Lucy stood out from her class group. Sophie and Simon, both younger MC speakers produce close to 90% retention of [h]. This pattern was similar in the older middle class speakers, with Martin (69.2%) and Phyllis (95.3%) using [h] as their preferred variant.

(ii) Word final (t)

The RWL contained twenty-four tokens of (t) in pre-pausal position⁶⁷. For the purposes of the pilot study, all tokens in the FC were either marked as 'glottal' or 'released' and the tokens were not ordered into specific linguistic environments⁶⁸. Therefore, in words such as 'went' (t) was not recorded as being preceded by a nasal pronunciation. In the same way, word final (t) in the word 'what' would not be described as post-vocalic. So both [t] productions in 'went' and 'what'

⁶⁷ The nature of the RWL, with single instances produced, is indicative of pre-pausal position – this environment is explained in 4.2.

⁶⁸ For example, glottal and glottalised (t) were not differentiated.

were pooled to ease the analysis, allowing a larger sample to be investigated. Given the previous work elsewhere in the North East on (t) in word final position, the inclusion of (t) in the present study is of primary interest.

From the results, it can be seen that the older female speakers, as well as both WC and MC younger male speakers produced fully released [t] in the 24 environments. From the RWL data, there are only three speakers who use [ʔ] for word final (t) (Lucy, Sophie and Jack). Although Lucy and Jack both produced a total of five tokens of [ʔ] in word-final position, it is Sophie who produces twice as many glottalled tokens (10 tokens).

Table 4.5: Distribution of (t) tokens word-finally: pilot study

Speaker	[ʔ] FC	[t] FC	% Released	[t] RWL	[ʔ] RWL	% Released
Mark WCYM	237	105	30.7	24	0	100
Jack WCOM	138	119	46.3	20	4	83.3
Lucy WCYF	102	56	35.4	23	1	95.8
Jessica WCOF	111	222	50.0	24	0	100
Simon MCYM	51	79	60.7	24	0	100
Martin MCOM	116	174	60.0	24	0	100
Sophie MCYF	188	56	22.9	14	10	58.3
Phyllis MCOF	47	273	85.3	24	0	100

The four working class speakers preferred use to glottal ([ʔ]) in free conversation, producing 50% or less of fully released [t] in FC. As with the RWL, the MC speaker Sophie was the speaker who realised the least amount of fully release [t] (22.9%). This was lower than her WC younger counterparts Mark and Lucy.

(iii) Intervocalic (t)

Table 4.6 shows the distribution of (t) tokens in intervocalic position in conversational and reading word list (RWL) environments. The main pattern evident in the table was the older speakers' release of [t] in intervocalic position. With the exception of Jack, the older speakers preferred to release [t].

This was also the case for Simon (MCYM) who produced [t] in both environments throughout. Unlike word-final (t), there was far more variability within intervocalic (t) and more specifically within the working class speakers.

Table 4.6: Distribution of (t) tokens in intervocalic position: pilot study

Speaker	[ʔ] FC	[t] FC	% Released	[t] RWL	[ʔ] RWL	% Released
Mark WCYM	37	17	31.4	7	3	70
Jack WCOM	22	13	37.1	5	5	50
Lucy WCYF	31	22	41.5	6	4	60
Jessica WCOF	9	56	86.1	9	1	90
Simon MCYM	13	20	60.6	10	0	100
Martin MCOM	6	28	82.4	10	0	100
Sophie MCYF	43	35	44.9	9	1	90
Phyllis MCOF	2	38	95.0	10	0	100

The pattern of released [t] was also evident in the RWL conditions, a number of speakers having used 90% or more of [t] pronunciation in word medial condition, and over 50% of [t] in their conversational data. The only exception was Sophie who produced 90% in the RWL and used only 44.9% of released [t] in word medial position (albeit using only eight more tokens of [ʔ]).

Having produced over 82% of [t] in intervocalic position in the conversational data, Martin, Phyllis and Jessica produced 90% or more in their RWL data. The conversational data and RWL

comparisons showed that this variable is of sufficient interest to the main study to warrant more extensive investigation.

(iv) VOCALIC VARIABLES: GOAT Vowel: (o)

The total of ninety-six tokens of GOAT vowels in the RWL were scored in respect of three variants: the diphthong [oʊ], and the monophthongs [θ:] and [o:]. Of the four middle-class speakers, 40 tokens of [oʊ] were realised, against eight tokens for the monophthong [o:]. In comparison, working class speakers produce 32 tokens of the monophthong [o:], 14 instances of the diphthong and two productions of the unrounded monophthong [θ:].

Table 4.7: Distribution of three GOAT variants in RWL: pilot study

Speaker	[oʊ]	[o:]	[θ:]
Mark WCYM	16.7 (2)	83.3 (10)	0
Jack WCOM	0	100 (12)	0
Lucy WCYF	50 (6)	41.6 (5)	8.4 (1)
Jessica WCOF	50 (6)	41.6 (5)	8.4 (1)
Simon MCYM	100 (12)	0	0
Martin MCOM	66.6 (8)	33.3 (4)	0
Sophie MCYF	83.3 (10)	16.7 (2)	0
Phyllis MCOF	83.3 (10)	16.7 (2)	0

As opposed to the RWL data, in FC Darlington English speakers used four variants (not including the centring diphthong [ʊə]) of the GOAT vowel. From table 4.7, the most frequent variant (as with the RWL results) by DE speakers is the close-mid back monophthongal [o:]

Table 4.8: Percentage distribution of four GOAT variants in FC: pilot study⁶⁹

Speaker	[o:]	[θ:]	[ɔ:]	[ou]
Mark WCYM	88.46 (46)	0 (0)	11.54 (6)	0 (0)
Jack WCOM	89.28 (50)	5.4 (3)	5.4 (3)	0 (0)
Lucy WCYF	60.9 (28)	13 (6)	0 (0)	26.1 (12)
Jessica WCOF	86.1 (37)	11.6 (5)	0 (0)	2.3 (1)
Simon MCYM	17.7 (7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	82.5 (33)
Martin MCOM	100 (42)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Sophie MCYF	62.1 (36)	0 (0)	0 (0)	37.9 (22)
Phyllis MCOF	23.3 (14)	11.7 (7)	0 (0)	65.0 (39)

The predominant use of the close-mid back monophthong [o:] is clear. All but one of the middle-class DE speakers (Simon) used this monophthong as the most frequent variant. Apart from Simon, none of the three remaining male speakers used the closing diphthong. The middle class male older speaker, Martin, produced [o:] for all of his GOAT tokens. Both Mark and Jack used the close-mid monophthongal variant [o:] nearly categorically for the entirety of their GOAT tokens. Interestingly, both younger female informants (Lucy and Sophie) showed very similar usage both in the monophthongal (60.9% and 62.1%) and diphthongal (26.1%: Lucy, 37.9%: Sophie) variants. It is interesting to note that the fourth variant [ɔ:], present in the FC but not in formal speech, is only produced by both WC male speakers.

FACE Vowel: (e)

The FACE vowel provided three variants in the RWL: the close mid monophthong [e:], the diphthong [eɪ] and the centring diphthong [eə]. In RWL style, the diphthong [eɪ] with 70 of the total of 120 tokens was the most frequent variant. The close-mid vowel [e:], which Watt and

⁶⁹ Actual token numbers in parentheses.

Milroy (1999: 29) describe as one of the “pan-northern varieties” totalled 43 tokens, whilst the remaining centring diphthong [eə] was produced only 7 times. Only the two working class male speakers Mark and Jack produced this diphthong in the RWL.

Table 4.9: Percentage distribution of four FACE variants in RWL: pilot study

SPEAKER	[e:]	[eɪ]	[eə]
Mark WCYM	13.3 (2)	60 (9)	26.7 (4)
Jack WCOM	0 (0)	80 (12)	20 (3)
Lucy WCYF	40 (6)	60 (9)	0 (0)
Jessica WCOF	40 (6)	60 (9)	0 (0)
Simon MCYM	0 (0)	100 (15)	0 (0)
Martin MCOM	20 (3)	80 (12)	0 (0)
Sophie MCYF	6.7 (1)	93.3 (14)	0 (0)
Phyllis MCOF	0 (0)	100 (15)	0 (0)

In the FC, the same three variants of the FACE vowel were found: the diphthong [eɪ]; the fronted close-mid monophthong [e:] and the centring diphthong [eə].

Table 4.10: Percentage distribution of four FACE variants in FC: pilot study⁷⁰

SPEAKER	[e:]	[eɪ]	[eə]
Mark WCYM	84.9 (45)	0 (0)	15.1 (8)
Jack WCOM	80.8 (38)	2.2 (1)	27.1 (8)
Lucy WCYF	86 (43)	14.6 (7)	0 (0)
Jessica WCOF	97.1 (59)	3.2 (2)	0 (0)
Simon MCYM	21.4 (9)	78.9 (33)	0 (0)
Martin MCOM	82.5 (42)	12.4 (9)	0 (0)
Sophie MCYF	13.7 (7)	86.7 (44)	0 (0)
Phyllis MCOF	22.9 (11)	77.1 (38)	0 (0)

The most frequent variant [e:] showed a similar pattern to that of the monophthongal GOAT vowel variant [o:] with the highest proportion of the monophthong [e:] being produced mainly by the working class speakers, rather than the middle class speakers. The similarity was clear in the younger, middle class pairing of Sophie and Simon. It was evident that although their use of the preferred local variant [e:] was low (21.1% and 13.3%), they both frequently used the closing diphthong [eɪ]. Whilst not produced as frequently in the middle class younger speaker group, the front close-mid monophthong [e:] remained the preferred variant throughout the remaining speakers in FC. So much so that of the total of 545 tokens for FACE collected, 351 are produced using this monophthong (64.4%) in free conversation. Only 135 tokens were recorded using the closing diphthong (24.7%) [eɪ]. It is evident that only Simon, Sophie and Phyllis use [eɪ] with high frequency. Martin (Old, MC Male) with 80% usage of this diphthong in the RWL produces only 12.4% in free conversation (FC). Instead, Martin preferred the monophthong [e:] (82.5%) in FC and 20 in RWL. This was a considerable difference across formal styles. This factor is unusual given the percentage usage within the working-class group. Mark, Lucy, Jack and Jessica, all working class speakers, used predominantly the monophthongal variant [e:], with

⁷⁰ Actual token numbers in parentheses.

Jack having the least usage. Jack's second choice of FACE vowel variant was the centring diphthong [eə], using it 27.1% of the time. This variant was used by only two male DE speakers (Mark – 15.1%, Martin – 5.1%).

4.1.11 Summary of Pilot Results

From the pilot study findings *five* variables warranting more detailed investigation were highlighted. These were:

- (1) Word-initial (h)
- (2) Word-final (t)
- (3) Intervocalic (t)
- (4) GOAT vowel
- (5) FACE vowel

As a result of the pilot study, it was necessary to refine the analysis of each variable to take account of some likely effects of linguistic context.

(i) Word initial (h)

Differing use of (h) in word initial position was seen across the three extra-linguistic categories of sex, social 'class' and age. The majority (160/175) of tokens produced by Mark (WC young male) were dropped ([Ø]) whilst Phyllis (MC older female) totalled only four dropped tokens. Throughout, the frequency of dropped tokens [Ø] was higher in younger DE speech than that of older speakers. The frequency of dropped tokens was particularly differentiated by social 'class', with middle class speakers producing more realisations of [h] than that of the working class speakers.

Variation of the retention of word-initial (h) ([h]) is the main reason for its inclusion in the main study, coupled with Darlington's geographical position on the border of south Durham (traditionally h-ful) and North Yorkshire (traditionally h-less).

However, different lexical categories are required in order to survey (h) activity more thoroughly⁷¹. The following lexical sets would therefore be of interest:

- (1) Unstressed personal pronouns (*him, her, he, his*)
- (2) Unstressed auxiliaries (*have, has, had*)⁷²
- (3) Stressed items (foot initial onset position – e.g. *hospital, happy*)

Three categories of word-initial (h) lexical items are therefore investigated. Within a conversational setting, unstressed lexical items, particularly pronouns and auxiliaries, are particularly prone to loss of [h] in word initial position (cf. Bell and Holmes (1997)). Such unstressed categories will be included in the main study. In addition, an investigation of stressed nouns (including also proper nouns) with (h) in foot initial onset position is proposed. A review of sociolinguistic findings for word-initial (h) in British English studies is found in 4.3.

(ii) (t) Environments

Given the past sociolinguistic work undertaken for (t) within areas such as Middlesbrough and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the aim of investigating use of (t) in Darlington is to compare and contrast patterns in Darlington English with those of two neighbouring North-Eastern accents. As with Middlesbrough (Llamas (2001)) and Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Docherty et al. (1997)), two word final discourse environments will be surveyed: pre-pausal and turn final positions.

⁷¹ These lexical sets are suggested by a range of previous studies (cf. particularly Bell and Holmes (1997), Milroy (1983), Burbano-Elizondo (2008)).

⁷² It must be noted that both personal pronouns and auxiliaries were only recorded when in unstressed positions. As such use of these tokens in utterance initial position for example were not recorded.

providing the turn can “stand alone as a *meaningful utterance*”, the TRP could appear after a turn of as little as one word. Both pre-pausal and turn final positions are reviewed in light of recent North-Eastern findings in 4.3.

In addition to pre-pausal and turn final (t), word final pre-vocalic and intervocalic positions are also of interest to the present study given their investigation in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Docherty et al. (1997)).

Word final pre-vocalic and intervocalic (t)

The environment for word final pre-vocalic (t) is one in which word final (t) in connected speech is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, thus:

Bought an apple

bɔ:t ən æpəl

Light on

laɪt ən

The results for this environment are presented in 5.4.

Intervocalic (t) is the environment in which the variable (t) is flanked by two vowels word medially within a particular lexical item. Tokens were elicited only when (t) was flanked word medially by a stressed vowel to its left (onset position) and an unstressed vowel on its right (coda of the syllable). No intervocalic word medial (t) was analysed when flanked by two stressed vowels or also in an unstressed-stressed environment. This is illustrated below:

(a)	Stressed		Unstressed	
	a	t	ə	<i>Analysed</i>

In words like *utter*, *batter*

(b)	Unstressed		Stressed	
	ʒ	t	eɪ	<i>Excluded</i>

In words like *curtail*

The tokens indicative of (a) above, were included in the analysis and the results across age, sex and class are presented in 5.5.

(iii) (t) variants in Darlington English

From the results in the pilot study for (t), only two variants ([□ t]) were scored. Based upon further acoustic analysis and narrow transcription of the pilot study stimuli however, the variable (t), for the purposes of the main study is investigated in respect of five variants⁷³. These are:

(1) [t]: fully released voiceless alveolar stop

- Any production made with the tip of the tongue touching the alveolar ridge, blocking the airstream briefly, causing closure followed by release.

(2) [□]: glottal stop

- Any production made by the closure of the glottis, thus blocking the flow of air, with no audible alveolar articulation.

(3) [ɹ]: t – r

- Any production in which /t/ becomes [ɹ] (Wells 1982: 370), such as ‘shut up’ [ʃʊɹ ʊp] and ‘get off’ [gɛɹ ɒf]. Wells claims that:

“...the T-to-R rule takes as its input /t/ in the environment of a preceding short vowel and a following boundary plus vowel”

⁷³ The use of the pre-aspirated stop [Ht], which is indicative of a “period of voicelessness at the end of the vowel, nasal, or liquid, preceding the onset of the stop closure” (Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 70) is used very rarely in Darlington English. Indeed, only two realisations that may have warranted the phonetic transcription [Ht] were found in the entire corpus for the conversational stimuli. This figure was thought not to be sufficiently ‘significant’ to warrant inclusion as the sixth variant of (t) for Darlington English (DE) and the few variants that did appear in the data were not included in the final data reckoning.

Thus, in word final (t) where it is followed by a vowel-initial word and preceded by a short vowel, [r] may replace [t]⁷⁴:

t → /ɹ [short V] ____ # V

(4) [d]: voiced /t/

- The process of voicing /t/, produces a sound transcribed as [d] instead. Wells (1982) describes the parameters for realisation of this phonetic segment:

“...a necessary condition is that the preceding segment be a sonorant (vowel, liquid, or nasal); the following segment must not be a consonant (other than syllabic [l]).” (p.248)

Smith and Trager (1951) state that, “voiced *t* belongs to the phoneme /t/ and is distinct from the [d] of /d/”. For the purposes of the present study then, we will adopt the phonetic symbol [d] for this variant, given Mathisen’s description of the form in the West Midlands area of Sandwell⁷⁵.

(5) [ɰt]: glottalised (t)

- Glottalisation is the insertion of [ɰ] before the oral closure of the voiceless plosives /p,t,k/ is effected, “masking the approach phase of the oral plosive, referred to as pre-glottalisation, or *glottal reinforcement*” (Wells 1982). In comparison to glottalling, glottalisation involves the addition of [ɰ] prior to [t] and not the replacement of [t] by [ɰ]. The sound is transcribed as [ɰt]. Wells (1982: 374) describes glottalisation in Tyneside English as occurring in syllable-final and syllable-initial position prior to a weak vowel.

A review of the findings in North-Eastern studies for the different environments of (t) is outlined in 4.4.

⁷⁴ See Docherty et al. (1997) for further discussion of this.

⁷⁵ Mathisen categorises the variant by stating that “it is a tapped realisation, or variant which sounds like [d]” (1999:115).

(iv) GOAT and FACE Vowels

The FACE and GOAT lexical sets join the three consonantal variables (word-initial (h), intervocalic (t) and word final (t)) to form the five variables for analysis in the main study. The choice of both FACE and GOAT vowels is strongly based on the existence of previous research of these vowels in Newcastle-upon-Tyne by Watt (1998) – cf. also Watt and Milroy (1999)). Therefore, comparing and contrasting these findings will be relevant given the geographical position of Darlington. In the results of the pilot study, both vowel monophthong variants ([o:] and [e:]) were the most frequently found variants in Darlington. This is similar to what was reported for Newcastle-upon-Tyne by Watt (1998) and was part of the case which was made for postulating the existence of a ‘generalised northern English koine’ (Watt 1998). A cross-site comparison of the findings for both vowel and consonantal variation fulfils one of the principal aims of the present study. In addition, it is also relevant that the pilot study showed quite a lot of cross-speaker variability in DE for both vocalic variables.

The next section of this chapter examines the background and sociolinguistic use of the five selected variables under scrutiny in the present study.

4.2 Review of linguistic variables: vocalic variables

The following section provides further background to the FACE and GOAT variables. Initially, the historical background of FACE and GOAT is discussed. An overview of previous work on the realisation of these variables within the North-East of England is then given, focusing on previous studies in the three urban areas of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Middlesbrough and Durham.

4.2.1 Close-mid vowels: FACE and GOAT

As Watt and Milroy (1999: 32) state, “FACE and GOAT vowels are often said to behave as ‘mirror-images’ of one another: indeed, the tendency towards front-back symmetry in vowel systems is said to be universal”. Although this symmetry is well founded, the historical phonetic

roots of the two vowels are not similar. The following sub-sections outline the historical development of both FACE and GOAT vowels.

4.2.2 FACE VOWEL

Wells (1982:41) describes the standard lexical set of FACE as “those words whose citation form in RP and General American [GenAm] have the stressed vowel /eɪ/”. Wells continues by categorising the lexical items which correspond to the lexical set of FACE – this is illustrated in figure 4.2.1 below:

Figure 4.2.1: Wells’ lexical set of FACE

- FACE (a) *tape, late, cake, safe, case,*
babe, fade, vague, age, wave, bathe, craze...
- (b) *wait, faith, plaice, aitch, raid, nail, main, faint...*
day, play, way, grey/gray...
rein, veil, beige, feint...
they, whey, obey...
- (c) *great, steak, break...*

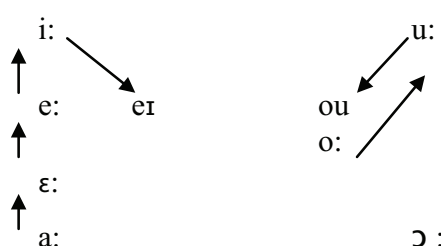
From a historical point of view, the FACE vowel, according to Wells, has “the traditional name ‘Long A’”, derived from the Great Vowel Shift (GVS) of Middle English /a:/ which is as Wells (1982: 142), states, “a consequence of the FACE Merger”. The crux of the Great Vowel Shift (henceforth GVS) is, according to Jespersen (1909), that the half-close, half-open, and open long vowels moved up one step closer, or higher in production. Therefore,

- (1) /e: - i:/ (2) /ɛ: - e:/ (3) /a: - ɛ:/ (4) /o: - u:/

Thus a chain shift is created, causing the long vowels (/i: - ei/ and /u: - ou/) to become diphthongal. According to Brown (2009: 165), the long vowels of (1) and (4) above were “the first to change within the Great Vowel Shift”. This was also the view of one of the earlier

scholars of the Great Vowel Shift, Karl Luick. Luick (1896) describes the raising of /e:/ and /o:/ as the primary impulse ('erste Impuls'). Luick believed that the GVS was a 'push chain' and not a simple sequence of changes, but, as Lass (1999: 75) states, a "mutual implication". This diphthongisation of the close long vowels is stylised in the figure below:

Figure 4.2.2: The diphthongisation of close long vowels



Notwithstanding the issues relating to how to define the point at which a sound change is "complete", Wells (1982: 143) sees the 'Shift' as being completed at the turn of the 1600s, claiming Chaucer produced vowels in a "pre-GVS way", whereas Shakespeare would have been prone to the new pronunciation. This is perhaps somewhat speculative, but such a statement provides us with a rough date for the GVS.

Hart, from his *An Orthographie* (a collection of his books on spelling reform 1551-1570), does not note the shift of [a:]~[ε:] to [ε:]~[e:], but still claims, however, that the word 'name' was maintained with [a:] or [ε:], suggesting the shift upwards to [ε:]/[e:] had "not occurred between 1551 and 1570. This seems to confirm Wells' claim that the shift had completed circa 1600. From here (i.e. after the GVS), the sound [ε:] was open to three processes, precipitating the RP diphthong found today.

Wells (1982:192) states that by the period of late Middle English each of the two sets of FACE words seen in figure 4.2.1 possessed differing phonetic characteristics:

“...of the FACE words, those in (63a) [Fig.4.2.1a – appearing as ‘63a’ in Wells (1982)] had a monophthongal vowel, [a:], shifted qualitatively to [ɛ:] by about 1600. The words in (63b) [Fig.4.2.1b] had a diphthong in Middle English, [ɛi] or [æi]”.

Wells describes how the diphthong [ɛi] was losing the diphthongal quality by the end of the seventeenth century, almost a century after the completion of the GVS. Although speakers of this time used the monophthong [ɛ:] for words like ‘pane’, ‘raze’ etc., they maintained the diphthong for words such as ‘pain’, ‘raise’ etc. However, the diphthong by this time had disappeared in favour of the monophthong [ɛ:]. This, Wells states, is termed the FACE Merger. Indeed, the process is part of what he [Wells] terms the ‘Long-Mid Merger’. A discussion of this process when comparing the elimination of differing back vowels for GOAT lexical items is detailed in 4.2.2. Therefore, referring back to figure 1, lexical items came together, sharing exact pronunciation of [ɛ:]. From this point, Wells describes how by 1700 the [ɛ:] monophthong “took on a closer quality” (1982: 193), shifting higher, to [e:]. Another century later, this monophthong diphthongised into the present-day sound associated with RP ([eɪ]), due to a process Wells refers to as Long-Mid diphthonging.

Although the change occurred around 1800, Wells states it was “a purely (...) realisational change involving no alteration in the system as such” (1982: 20). Dobson (1968:102), states that the eighteenth century raising from [ɛ:] to [e:] was inherent in “vulgar” speech, well before 1700. What is clear, is that by 1800, long mid diphthonging, “involving...the addition of a closing off-glide to the long mid vowels” (Wells (1982): 98)) had affected British English treatment of the close-mid front monophthong [e:]. Long mid diphthonging had also seen the transformation of the open- mid back monophthong [o:] in GOAT to the present-day diphthong of [oʊ] at the same period of time. With this in mind, the linguistic history of the GOAT vowel is now considered.

4.2.3 GOAT Vowel

As with the FACE vowel, the phonetic characterisation of GOAT in Received Pronunciation is formed by a closing diphthong, in this case /oʊ/. Wells (1982) describes the RP production as:

“.../oʊ/ (is) now typically a diphthong with a mid central unrounded starting-point moving towards a somewhat closer and backer lightly rounded second element” (p.146)

The list of lexical items for GOAT is arranged into two sets and shown in figure 4.2.6 below:

Figure 4.2.3: Wells’ lexical set of GOAT

- GOAT:
- (a) *soap, boat, oak, roach, oath*
road, loathe, coal, roam, loan...
 - (b) *bowl, own, tow, know, grow, owe*
soul, poultry, mould, shoulder...
colt, holster, old, bold, soldier
roll, scroll, control
sew, dough, though, although

Unlike the FACE vowel however, the Modern English GOAT vowel was rooted in the use of Old English (OE). Indeed, Mitchell and Robinson (2007: 29) quotes the long, low, back unrounded vowel [ɑ:] as the likely variable of use, although words were spelled using *ā*, therefore ‘toe’ was spelled ‘ta’. As with FACE, the GOAT vowel, or “long O” (Wells 1982: 146), realised its first major change at the end of the sixteenth century.

The GVS affected the GOAT vowel by way of a shift from its original low back position to a closer position with a higher rounded quality. This shift is schematised below:

Figure 4.2.4: The shift of the GOAT vowel from Old English until after the GVS⁷⁶

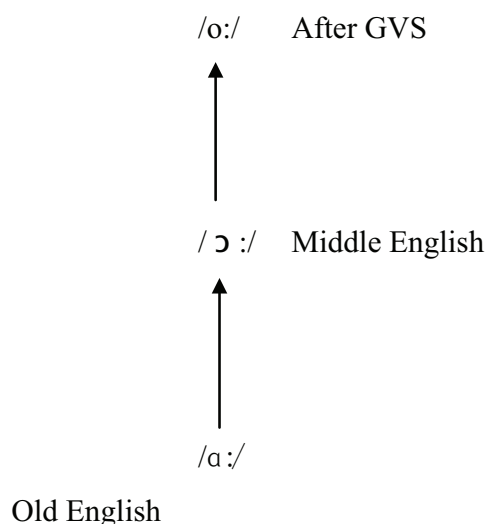


Figure 4.2.4 shows a shift from the rounded open-mid back vowel [ɑ:] to the close -mid back rounded vowel [o:]. There seem to be conflicting views on this shift, as Lerer (2007: 103) sees [ɑ:] moving to [ɔ:] as a result of the GVS, whilst Wells states that both a monophthong [o:] (corresponding to figure 4.2.3a) and a diphthong [ɔ u] (corresponding to figure 4.2.3b) were found although:

“the former vowel was raised to [o:] by 1600; the latter fell in with it shortly afterwards, in what we may call the GOAT Merger” (p.193)

Wells’ idea of the GOAT Merger was essentially that a mirror-image of the FACE Merger (or Low Mid Merger - see also discussion in McCafferty (2001: 144) existed in the change of GOAT. With the two sets of lexical items in figure 4.2.6, a difference in pronunciation between (a) and (b) is seen. Hence, in words like ‘toe’, ‘sole’ etc., in ME, the monophthongal [ɔ:] vowel is found. This is in contrast to the words ‘tow’, ‘soul’ etc., which was produced with a diphthong [ɔ u]. With the GVS, and up to around the year 1600, a raising of [ɔ:] to [o:] was evident.

⁷⁶ Adapted from Freeborn (1992: 297)

From here, unlike the FACE vowel, GOAT did not experience eighteenth century ‘raising’. Instead, according to Wells, the “merged [o:] diphthongised in polite use around 1800”, giving (a production of) [oʊ]). This is due to the process termed, ‘Long mid diphthonging’. Wells states that present day RP realises the GOAT vowel as [əʊ]. He arrives at this sound via a process called GOAT advancement. Having attained the realisation of [oʊ] through Low Mid Diphthonging, Wells states that the GOAT vowel starting point of the diphthong is “not back, it’s central” (1982:237). Wells emphasises this by quoting Gimson’s (1962) phonemic notation as [əʊ]. This, Wells notes, is termed GOAT advancement. Indeed, Wells believes that from the late nineteenth century up until World War Two [ɛʊ] had “ousted [ou] or [oʊ] as the ‘ideal’, or ‘beautiful’ RP GOAT diphthong” (1982: 238). Furthermore, the central first element and ‘weak’ nature of the second element gives “the distinction between [əʊ] and [ɛ:] (...) particularly before /-l/” (1982: 238). Wells adds to this that the present day GOAT vowel is “particularly variable both regionally and socially” (1982: 146). This is evident in the work by Kerswill (2003) and Kerswill and Williams (2005) in the findings of GOAT advancement in the south-east of England.

A discussion of this variability through Britain and more crucially within the north-east of England is outlined in the next section. Firstly, a conclusion of the findings for both vowels is outlined below.

4.2.4 Conclusion

Having covered the foundations and transitions of both FACE and GOAT vowels from Old English to the modern day usage, such changes outlined in 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 are stylised below in table 4.11:

Table 4.11: Transitions of FACE and GOAT vowels through history

	FACE	GOAT
Old English (Up to 1100-1150 ⁷⁷)	a: ‘pane’ ‘raze’ ‘pain’ ‘raise’	ɑ: ‘toe’ ‘sole’ ‘tow’ ‘soul’
Middle English (Ca. C13 th /14 th)	a: εɪ	ɔ: ɔ u
Great Vowel Shift (Ca. C15th)	ε:	o:
FACE/GOAT Merger (Ca. 1600)	ε:	o:
Eighteenth century raising	e:	o:
Long Mid diphthonging	eɪ	ou
GOAT Advancement		ɛu
Present day RP	eɪ	əʊ

Sections 4.2.3 and 4.2.4 above have detailed how the vowel sounds of GOAT and FACE began as long monophthongs, shifted through raising and then culminated in a diphthongisation in both cases.

The variation in present day British English for FACE and GOAT is perhaps too extensive to review, with the variation within the south of England being fairly well documented (Tollfree (1999), Wells (1982) – a comprehensive account, Kerswill and Williams (1999), Kerswill (2003)). The main objective of this discussion however, is to highlight variation for FACE and GOAT within the area of study: the North-East of England. Three major urban areas are

⁷⁷ As stated by Freeborn (1998:21)

considered (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Middlesbrough and Durham) having already reviewed the SED results for FACE and GOAT in the four areas around Darlington (cf. section 4.1.2).

4.2.5 FACE and GOAT in Tyneside English

In his own review of FACE and GOAT vowel use in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Watt (1998: 172) discussed five studies: Jones (1911), O'Connor (1947), Viereck (1966), Hughes and Trudgill (1979) and Wells (1982). In Viereck (1966) and O'Connor (1947), although surveying two disparate groups of speakers (Tyneside schoolboys (O'Connor) and older working class males aged 55-82 (Viereck)), both identified the most frequent variants as [e:] and [eə] for FACE and [o:] and [θə] for GOAT. Similar variants were again highlighted in Hughes and Trudgill (1979), although both diphthongs were transcribed as [ɪe] and [uo]. In addition to both sets of monophthongs and diphthongs, Wells (1982) highlighted the unrounded vocoid [θ:] (also noted by Viereck 1966), which he [Wells] described as “a very characteristic GOAT quality both for Tyneside and for all Northumberland”.

More recently, Watt (1998) and Watt and Milroy (1999) investigated three variants for FACE ([e:], [eɪ] and [ɪə]) and four for GOAT ([o:], [oʊ], [θ:] and [ʊə]) in Tyneside English. For FACE, it was apparent that the close-mid monophthong [e:] was the preferred variant in free conversation (74.9%), whilst [ɪə] was mainly the preserve of male speech and the southern sounding diphthong [eɪ] was used infrequently (5.14%). For GOAT, the corresponding [o:] monophthong was also the most frequently used variant (72%), whilst [θ:], when used, was largely the preserve of male speakers, although the level of usage for this variant was relatively low. What was evident from Watt's results was the reduction in use of the centering diphthongs [ɪə] and [ʊə] from the rate noted in previous studies of Tyneside English (reported previously, although transcribed differently by the previous studies) and the increase (to around 80% in both

FACE and GOAT vowels) in the close-mid monophthongs⁷⁸. Both monophthongs were described previously by Hughes and Trudgill (1979: 65) as “prestigious realisations of FACE and GOAT vowels in Tyneside”. Such an increase in Tyneside and other areas of the North-East led Watt (1998) to suggest that this may be indicative of a move toward a generalised northern English koine. Interestingly, Moisl and Maguire (2008: 19) state that ‘variation in the GOAT vowel is of central sociolinguistic importance in Tyneside English’.

4.2.6 Durham and Teesside English

Further to the south of Tyneside, in the city of Durham (namely Ushaw Moor and Langley Park), Kerswill (1984, 1987 and 2003) also noted the preferred use of both close-mid monophthongs ([e:] and [o:]), although the centralised unrounded variant [ø:] found in Tyneside was not present. Previous work by Ellis (1889) and in the SED (Orton and Dieth (1963)) had shown that the accent of Durham used mainly ingliding diphthongs as the preferred variant for both vowels in the past. However, the high use of the [e:] monophthong for FACE (92% females and 55% males⁷⁹) and similar figures for use of [o:] for GOAT, was far more frequent than the centering diphthongs [ɪə] and [ʊə]⁸⁰.

Watt and Llamas (2004)⁸¹, in their study of the Middlesbrough English vowel system, outlined four variants for FACE ([e: e: eɪ ɪə]) and four for GOAT ([ɔ: ɔ: ʊə oʊ]). As with present-day speech in Durham and Tyneside English, the long monophthongs [e: ɔ:] were the preferred variants in Middlesbrough English. Both diphthongs [eɪ and oʊ] were as limited in Middlesbrough English speech (between 4 and 5% respectively) as they were in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Another parallel to Tyneside English was evident with the use of both centering diphthongs [ɪə]/[ʊə], which were similarly the preserve of male speakers. Although [ø:] was not

⁷⁸ In Watt (1998), his literature review re. the FACE vowel comments on such a rise in use of the monophthongs from the early study of O'Connor (1947) through to that of Hughes and Trudgill in 1979.

⁷⁹ The remainder of male speech in Durham was generally comprised of the ingliding diphthong [ɪə].

⁸⁰ It will be remembered (from 4.1.2) that the three SED Durham areas surveyed by Orton and Dieth (1963) around Darlington used predominantly [eə] for FACE and [ʊə] for GOAT: such use is similar to that reported by Viereck (1966) and is perhaps typical of North-Eastern speech at that time.

⁸¹ Paper presented at SS15 2004, “Acoustic analysis of variability in the Middlesbrough English vowel system”.

used (as it is in Newcastle-upon-Tyne), centralised variants of [ɛ: ɔ:] ([ɛ̃: ɔ̃:]) were realised in Middlesbrough English., albeit with less frequency than the non-centralised variants.

In summary, the more recent previous work found that in the three urban North-Eastern areas, the long monophthongs of [e:] and [o:] (and [ɛ:] and [ɔ:] in the case of Middlesbrough) were the preferred variants for FACE and GOAT. Earlier studies (O'Connor 1947, Viereck 1966, Orton and Dieth 1963) had shown that this was not always the case, with the centering diphthongs [ɪə] and [ʊə] used frequently. The use of the monophthongs for FACE and GOAT in the North-East, along with a number of other linguistic variables, has been taken as evidence in support of the view that a generalised northern English koine exists (Watt (1998), Kerswill (2003)).

The following section outlines the literature relating to the three consonantal variables under scrutiny.

4.3 CONSONANTAL VARIABLES

The following section reviews the sociolinguistic literature relating to the three consonantal variables of word initial (h), (t) word final and (t) word medial. Both word final and word medial (t) are outlined in 4.4. Within this section the environments of turn-final, pre-pausal, word final pre-vocalic and intervocalic (t) are examined. Initially, previous work on variation and the history of word-initial (h) are outlined.

4.3.1 Word initial (h): Historical background of word initial (h) loss

The difficulty in assessing any historical records as to the use of a particular linguistic variable lies in the reduction of objectivity given the lack of recorded speech. Therefore, the primary method of tracking (h)-loss is principally via an analysis of orthographic changes through time which may or may not be indicative of spoken actualities. Indeed, Wyld (1920: 296), relying on

written scriptures himself, states that “there is no reliable evidence for the present day vulgarism [of ‘h-dropping’] before the eighteenth century”.

Hansen (2008: 13) states that after the Norman Conquest, h-dropping in Anglo-Norman speech began to be associated with higher status. Indeed, she believes that many theories with the literature “opt for the onset of h-dropping to have occurred between the 6th and 12th centuries (...) in other words, the Old English period” (Hansen’s work discusses the history and research behind the stigma associated with ‘h-dropping’ in great detail). Dobson (1968) and Brunner (1963), cited in Milroy (1983) suggest that (h)-loss was common in Middle English scriptures (circa 1300) before stressed and unstressed positions. Milroy (1983) however, suggests that the majority of linguistic historians have rejected Middle English evidence for word-initial (h) loss due to the variability of word-initial (h) being “random, confused and incorrect”. The advent of the linguistic change known as the Great Vowel Shift at the end of the fourteenth century also played an important role in the loss of word initial (h). As discussed above, within the ‘Shift’, a number of vowels became ‘raised’ with a number of vowels becoming diphthongized. In certain words within Middle English, word initial (h) was lost due to a specific following vocalic environment becoming raised or diphthongized (cf. Lass & Anderson (1975): 107) for a fuller discussion on these clusters and their affect on word initial (h)).

In addition, the effect of French upon English during the Middle English period cannot be underestimated in the use of word-initial (h). Indeed, Skeat (1897) suggests that the French realisations of English sounds during the thirteenth century affected spellings (for example ‘*helde*’ for ‘*elde*’ and ‘*auelok*’ for ‘*havelok*’). Such an Anglo-French creole Milroy (1983: 45) posits, must have led to rapid linguistic change. Principally, change in the English spelling of words would mean a “phonological simplification and precipitate a loss of [h] in word-initial position, specifically in stressed syllables”.

Milroy suggests that after this point of contact between French and English speakers, and into the fourteenth century, the entire east coast, from Kent to Lincolnshire was open to loss of [h] in word-initial position. Up to this date, Milroy presents a three-part ‘general order’ concerning the textual evidence of loss in word-initial (h) environments.

(1) Loss before sonorants:

(Very early OE forms) in initial combinations /hn, hl, hr/, lost in the Middle English period.

(2) Loss before glides:

/h/ lost before /w/ (cf. present-day Scots/Irish accents) in some Middle-English dialects. Not stigmatized.

(3) Loss before vowels:

/h/ lost before vowels in some Middle-English dialects, now in many Anglo-English dialects, but variable and stigmatized.

Later, during the fifteenth century, (h) loss had extended from the higher reaches of society, with the creolized form of English (brought about by the contact with French) and now had a more ‘prestigious’ influence over the speech of the lower echelons of society at that particular time.

In the eighteenth century, Milroy describes (h) loss as being seen as a ‘vulgarism’ (cited by Wyld (1920: 296)) associated with “ignorance and lack of education” and was consequently avoided by the middle-class as it was a highly marked sociolinguistic variable at this time.

Geographically at this time, Milroy also notes that areas thought of as being [h] retaining in word initial position such as East Anglia were most likely to have been even more so. Interestingly, Milroy claims that “Scotland and the northernmost part of England have always been (h)-ful”. This point is examined in the following section.

4.3.2 Word-initial (h) in the UK

Milroy (1983: 47) claims East Anglia, Scotland and the northernmost part of England have “always been h-ful”. Figure 4.3.1, highlights these h-retaining areas, based on work by (Ellis (1889), SED data (1963) and Trudgill (1974)):

Figure 4.3.1: Map showing [h] retaining areas in Britain⁸²



The interest for the present study lies in the area of the North-East. The review now addresses word-initial (h) in this area.

Watt and Milroy (1999: 15) describe Tyneside as being, “one of the few urban areas in Britain where [h] is usually pronounced.” They claim however that there are exceptions to the rule, notably the unstressed function words ‘*him*’ and ‘*her*’. This area is approximately 30 miles north of Darlington and unlike the variables of FACE and GOAT, there is a dearth of contemporary research in word-initial [h]-loss within the North East. As outlined in 4.1, Llamas’ (2001) study of Middlesbrough (the closest socio-linguistically surveyed conurbation to Darlington)

⁸² Adapted from Trudgill (1974).

investigated other consonantal forms, such as (p, t, k, th) and (r), but not word initial (h). Similarly, studies to the north, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Durham (Watt and Milroy (1999) and Kerswill (1987) respectively) do not fully address word-initial (h), although both studies suggest [h]-retention exists in both areas. However, Burbano-Elizondo (2008) in her study of Sunderland, surveys word initial (h) in depth, noting that [h] is still readily produced in this position. Figure 4.3.1 highlights the North East area as h-ful with the route of the River Tees as the southern boundary on Trudgill's map, with the traditional 'h-less' region of North Yorkshire below. Indeed, many linguists have noted the River Tees as the boundary of h-ful/h-less isogloss (Milroy (1983), Trudgill (1974)). In addition, significant variation of (h) was seen in Atkinson (2002), as well as in the SED material for the four sites around Darlington. The results for each lexical category outlined in 4.1 for (h) within the SED are briefly summarised below.

(a) Word-initial (h): Auxiliaries/Pronouns

Orton and Dieth (1963) divide the auxiliary forms into (1) *have/has* and (2) *hasn't/haven't*. All three County Durham SED sites retained [h] ([hav], [haz /haznt], [havənt]), whilst Melsonby did not ([az], [azənt], avənt]). When auxiliaries occur in an unstressed position it was evident that all four areas dropped [h]. With regard to unstressed pronouns, speakers from Bishop Middleham and Witton-le-Wear retained [h] in both *his* and *hers* ([hiz], [h3:z]). This was also the case for the Eggleston area in '*hers*'. The Melsonby speaker dropped [h] in both '*hers*' ([3:z]) and '*his*'. There was [h]-loss in the reflexive pronouns '*himself*' and '*herself*' ([Izself]/[3:self]) and also in the phrase *isn't he?* ([Iznt i]) in all four areas.

(b) Stressed (h)-word initial forms

Word examples⁸³: (1) HUNDRED (2) HALF (3) HALFPENNY (4) HALF-A-CROWN (5) HANDFUL (6) HOW MANY (7) HEARD (8) HOW (9) HEARSE (10) HOLIDAY (11) HIDE⁸⁴

⁸³ Word examples taken from Orton and Dieth (1963)

⁸⁴ All word-initial (h) words were taken from the SED corpus.

One striking pattern found in the (h)-activity of these words is, as with the auxiliaries and pronouns, that the Melsonby subject dropped [h] in all word-initial instances: the only exception being in the word *halfpenny*. In the speech of the Witton-le-Wear subject, all word initial (h) sounds were retained. This was also the case for the Bishop Middleham subject, with the exception of [h] in *how many*. The greatest amount of variation in stressed word-initial forms came in the speech of the Eggleston speaker. Retaining (h) for words 1 to 7, the speaker produced [au] for (6) *how* in *how many* (closer to the Melsonby speakers' pronunciation). The [h] retained in *holiday*, was dropped in (11) 'hide' ([aɪd]), a shorter vowel to that of the Melsonby speaker ([a.ɪd]).

These results indicate that the areas in Durham are (h) retaining, whilst Melsonby (Yorkshire) is not. This would appear to agree with the boundaries set-out in figure 4.3.1. The geographical position of Darlington is likely to provide interesting results for word initial (h): these are presented in 5.3.

4.4 (t) variability in the North-East of England

The following section briefly outlines results found for (t) in the three previously surveyed North-Eastern urban areas of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Durham and Middlesbrough. Having proposed five variants of (t) in 4.1 ([t] ? ʔt ɹ d]) the discussion examines their use in the three areas in word final and word medial positions.

Glottalisation, or glottal reinforcement ([ʔt]), particularly in word-medial position occurring between sonorants, is a typical feature of Tyneside English (Wells (1982), Docherty et al. (1997)) although TE glottalisation differs from that found elsewhere (see 4.1.11 (ii) above). However, in turn-final and pre-pausal position, both glottalisation and glottalling of /t/ appeared not to occur in Tyneside English. Indeed, Local, Kelly and Wells (1986: 416) suggest that non-glottalised aspirated releases in Tyneside were associated specifically with endings of conversation turn, with released [t] in this environment being a localised feature of the accent (Llamas (2001)). The lack of glottalling and glottalisation in Tyneside English in turn-final

positions is captured in the so-called *final release rule* (FRR), which states that (t) is released ([t̚]) in turn final positions. Docherty et al. (1997) employed both word-list style and conversational style recordings to test this rule within Tyneside. In single-word monosyllabic citation forms 31 of the 32 speakers used a non-glottalised, fully released aspirated or fricated variant 100% of the time. The final results for word-list citations totalled 99.8% in favour of the FRR. Within conversational data however, the results showed that the FRR was not at all universal in both pre-pausal and turn-final positions. Although all speakers produced some level of glottalling in pre-pausal position, the use of glottalling/glottalisation was much higher in the working class young females, who ‘violated’ the rule 30% of the time. In turn-final position, (although the results may have been skewed by the varying amount of total token usage – ranging from 9 to 70), this group was again responsible for a similar figure (39% - 14/36 tokens glottalled/glottalised). Docherty et al. (1997) noted the “infrequent” exceptions to the rule of FRR in turn final position were due to preceding short vowels, whereas, long preceding vowels created categorical FRR instances.

Further to pre-pausal and turn-final positions in Tyneside, Docherty et al. (1997) assessed the role of glottalisation and T-to-R (in which /t/ is produced as [ɹ] – cf. 4.1) in word final pre-vocalic position and intervocalic (t). Their study of T-to-R was motivated by Carr’s 1991 study of what he terms ‘weakening’ of /t/ in Tyneside English. He noted that T-to-R only occurred in lexical environments over two items rather than within one. Thus for Carr, T-to-R occurred in ‘*fit(h)er*’ but not ‘*fitter*’ (which is glottalised). Wells (1982) suggests that the T-to-R rule was ‘triggered’ after the application of word-initial (h) loss falling on the following lexical item. Carr (1991: 46) noted that weakening occurred in Tyneside English in the following contexts, all of which are word-final pre-vocalic:

- i. in certain words belonging to non-lexical categories:
 - a. *not: not a chance, not altogether*
 - b. *but: but he wouldn’t*
 - c. *what: what a night, what is he doing, what about Jim*
 - d. *that: I knew that he would, eat that egg*
- ii. in verbs:

- a. monosyllabic: *put it down, put in front, met him, hit him,*
- b. bisyllabic: *with stress on the second syllable: delete it, incite her, excite her (but not when stressed on the first syllable): edit it, elicit it*

Docherty et al. (1997) on the other hand suggested that ‘*fit her*’ may be glottalised *or* subject to T-to-R. From their results in intervocalic position, it was obvious that [ɹ] occurred in words like ‘*bottom*’, ‘*matter*’ etc.

In Durham, Kerswill (1987: 46-7) noted that glottalling and glottalisation never occurred in pre-pausal position. Indeed, he claimed that in pre-pausal, heavily aspirated, fully released [t^h] is produced. This would appear to be the same as Tyneside English in this respect. Furthermore, Kerswill suggested that this ‘explicit articulation’ ([t^h]) may have been “the result of a high level of attention and a slow rate rather than a prestige form”. In terms of glottalisation of /t/, Kerswill noted its similarity to the neighbouring Tyneside (1987: 35), but suggested that its scope was “probably greater”. This was evidenced by the example of ‘all the time’ [ɑ:l ðə tʰaɪm] in which glottalisation occurred word-initially after a fully unstressed syllable (1987: 36). But, overall, the variable (t) was not investigated in any great depth in the Durham study.

Although Tyneside and Durham showed similarities in the use of (t) in pre-pausal and turn-final position, some differences were found in Middlesbrough English for both environments. Llamas (2001) noted highly significant age-correlated differences in use of the glottal variant in pre-pausal and turn final positions. It appeared that Middlesbrough subjects favoured [ʔ] in pre-pausal position (58.9%) and in turn-final position (49.3%). In turn-final position, there were large differences in use of [t] between older (72.4%) and younger speakers (20.7%). Indeed, in Middlesbrough, both [t] and [ʔ] were used mostly in turn-final and pre-pausal positions. Although used in small amounts, Llamas notes three other MbE variants of (t): a pre-aspirated variant [Ht], an unreleased variant [t̚] and a zero realisation [Ø]. In pre-pausal position, [ʔ] was used more frequently by younger speakers (78.3%, with [t] being 12.9%) than by older speakers (25.9%, with [t] being 58.2%). In terms of sex, very similar use of [t] was seen in males (30.5%)

and females (30.9%), although male use of [ɫ] in pre-pausal position was higher (63.3% to 54.8% by females). Thus, as Llamas suggests, “the final release rule cannot be seen as being operational in MbE as it was in Tyneside and Durham English” (2001: 128). Although the study did not survey word-final pre-vocalic position, intervocalic /t/ was examined. It was noted that, as in pre-pausal and turn-final contexts, speakers preferred to use the glottal stop in intervocalic position (59.9%), whilst released /t/ [t] (23.4%) and glottalised /t/ [ɫt] (16.7%) were not as frequent. The major effects of the glottal stop use were realised when assessing the difference in terms of age, with young speakers using [ɫ] 88% of the time. This was in comparison to older ‘speakers’ use of 19.2%. Older speakers’ use of [ɫt] (38.7%) was much higher than that of the young (6.7%). Male use of glottal reinforcement [ɫt] (30%) suggested that this variant was highest in the speech of the older males in Middlesbrough. For [ɫ], the difference in use by males and females appeared to be very small (male 58.8%, female 61.1%).

The discussion has highlighted the differences within the North-East of (t) use, particularly in word final position. In Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Durham, it appeared that glottalling and glottal reinforcement are virtually non-existent in turn final pre-pausal positions, as reflected in the final release rule. However, to the south in Middlesbrough, this rule seemed not to apply, given the preferred use for [ɫ] in these positions. Glottalisation is most prominent in Tyneside and Teesside when in intervocalic or word final pre-vocalic position, although Llamas (2001) found glottalling to be most frequent, especially in younger speakers. It appeared that there are many differences for (t) within the North-East thus warranting a focus on (t) as a key element of this study of variation in Darlington.

The following chapter presents the results for the five linguistic variables in Darlington English.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

5.0 Introduction

The following chapter presents the investigation of each of the five retained variables identified in the pilot study (4.1) and reviewed in terms of sociolinguistic and historical findings in 4.2.

Each of the five linguistic variables are examined using the extra-linguistic variables of age, sex and class outlined in Chapter 1.

Results for each variable are separated into percentage distributions for each variant (cf. 1.5.0). Results are then presented by speaker group, conflating the individual results within that particular group.

For each of the five variables, overall distributions of each variant are presented using both graphical and tabular displays, highlighting speaker group usage. This is then followed by descriptive analysis, discussing general trends and patterns across both extra-linguistic variables and speaker group usage. This is supported by statistical analysis, the rationale and methodology for which was put forward in 3.2.5. The data are split into (a) free conversation and (b) RWL results⁸⁵, culminating in discussion of style-shift results across speaker groups which may highlight any linguistically marked variants (Labov 1972).

The chapter begins by outlining the findings for the vocalic variables of FACE (5.1) and GOAT (5.2). In both vocalic variables, following phonological context is examined in order to highlight whether variants are tied to social interpretation or if their use was influenced by following context. The effect for following context is assessed for FACE in 5.1.6 and for GOAT in 5.2.2.

In 5.3, the implications of word-initial (h) use in Darlington English are considered. Section 5.4 details the use of (t) in informal style in word-final position (pre-pausal 5.4.1, turn-final 5.4.2 and pre-vocalic 5.4.3), whilst 5.5 assesses the variants of intervocalic (t).

⁸⁵ Only informal data is recorded for word final and word medial (t).

5.1.0 FACE VOWEL VARIANTS

Referring back to the results of the pilot study (4.1), it will be remembered that the FACE vowel in Darlington English (DE) is realised by three variants in free conversation. The first variant is a long peripheral close-mid monophthongal variant [e:]. The second is a closing diphthong identical to that of RP [eɪ], whilst the third is the centring diphthong [eə] as found in three SED Durham areas (noted in Chapter 4). The ingliding diphthong [ɪə] found in Middlesbrough and Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Watt (1998), Watt and Milroy (1999); Watt and Llamas (2004)) is included in this latter category, although its appearance in DE was minimal. After the initial analysis of the pilot study (4.1), a number of other variants approximating the three sounds above, but not totalling sufficient numbers as to warrant individual categories, were collapsed into [e:], [eɪ] and [eə]. Table 5.1.0 outlines the recorded qualities of these three FACE variants in Darlington English:

Table 5.1.0: Recorded qualities of FACE variants – FC style

eɪ	e:	eə
eɪ	e:	eə
	ë:	ɪə
	e ⁺	
	e ⁺	

5.1.1 FACE Vowel – Free Conversation Style

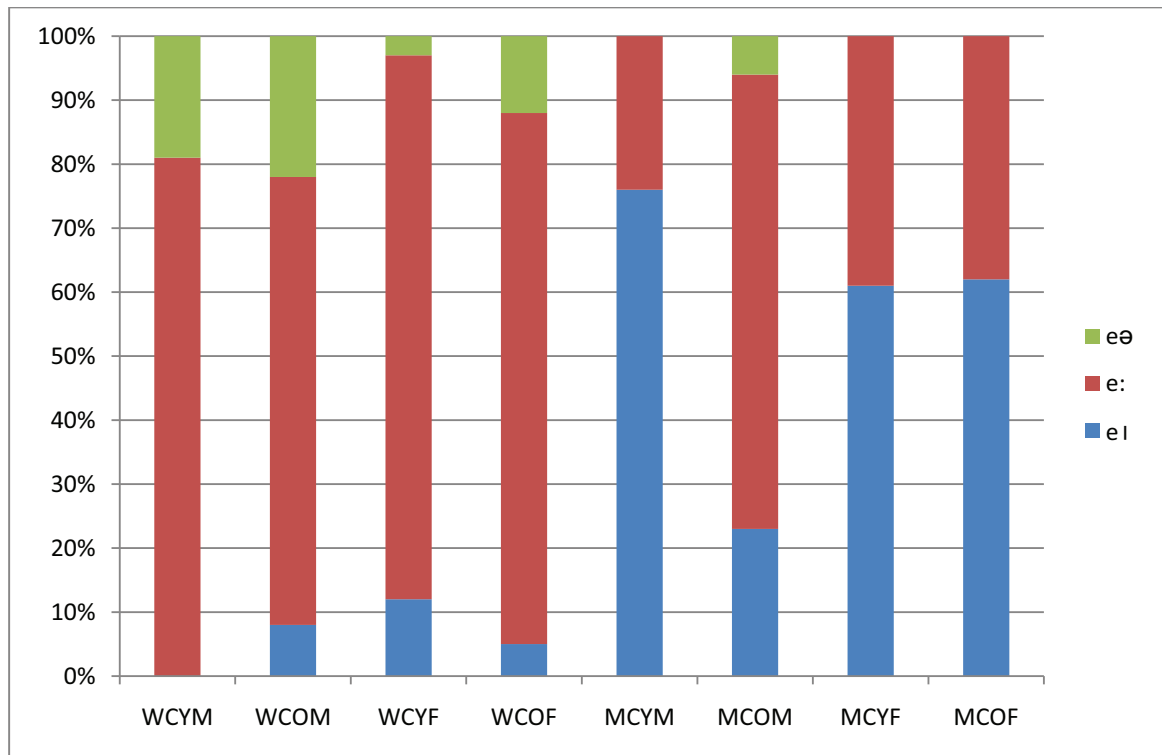
The following section investigates the 32 Darlington English speakers' productions of the three FACE vowel variants in both formal (RWL) and informal styles. In 5.1.1, the three variants of FACE [e: eɪ eə] in free conversation are presented. Section 5.1.2 assesses the production of FACE in the formal style of the RWL. In 5.1.3, style differences between free conversation and the formal reading word list (RWL) data concerning the three variants are examined. In section 5.1.5, the effect of following context on all three variants is outlined. Table 5.1.1 shows the overall token distribution of FACE vowel variants in free conversation:

Table 5.1.1: Overall token distribution of FC FACE vowel variants

Overall Distribution	eɪ		e:		eə	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
n. 1562	427	27.3	1005	64.3	130	8.4

Table 5.1.1 shows a total of 1562 free conversation (FC) FACE vowel tokens elicited, of which 1005 tokens were the monophthongal close-mid vowel [e:]. The closing diphthong [eɪ] was found in 427 tokens. The third most frequent variant used was the centering diphthong [eə], highlighted in the Survey of English Dialects data from the surrounding two Durham areas (cf. 4.2) with over 8% of the total usage (130/1562).

Figure 5.1.1 below highlights the distribution of these three variants of FACE across all eight speaker groups. The results are expanded in table 5.1.2, giving the token totals for each variant per speaker group:

Figure 5.1.1: FACE variants by speaker group – FC style (%)**Table 5.1.2: Variants of FACE – by speaker group – FC style**

Group	[e:]	[eɪ]	[eə]	Total
WCYM	166	0	37	203
WCOM	148	17	46	211
WCYF	176	21	4	201
WCOF	165	9	30	204
MCYM	47	130	0	177
MCOM	149	39	13	201
MCYF	78	105	0	183
MCOF	76	106	0	182
TOTAL	1005	427	130	1562

Log-linear model results, based on the results shown in table 5.1.2 and figure 5.1.1 show class to be a significant extra-linguistic effect for the FACE vowel ($p < .0002$). Neither age nor sex however, are significant in terms of the overall effects (sex: $p < .410$; age: $p < .101$), with the interaction between class and age ($p < .010$) being significant at the 5% level. The overall influence of class could plausibly be linked to the prevalent use of the monophthongal variant [e:] in the working class speakers. All four sets of WC speakers use monophthongal [e:] for over 75% of their informal FACE vowels in free conversation. The monophthong is also present in MC speech, but the use of monophthongal [e:] by MC speakers is not the preferred variant overall, with only one set of MC speakers, the older middle class males, using the variant to any large extent (over 70% of the time) in free conversation. This high use is thus more indicative of working class Darlington English speech. Given the high rate of [e:] for the MC older male group, it is worth looking at the intra-group results for this group. It appears that token usage for [e:] is relatively consistent in the speech of speakers 1-3 (cf. table 5.1.3), but less so for speaker 4 who uses a higher number of instances (22) of [eɪ] than that of speakers 1-3.

Table 5.1.3: Individual token distribution of MC older male speakers

MCOM speaker	[e:]	[eɪ]	[eə]	Total
1	39	4	4	47
2	44	4	5	53
3	42	9	0	51
4	24	22	4	50

The possible reasons behind the higher use of the monophthong [e:] and lower instances of the diphthong [eɪ] by this group in addition to the results elicited from the group's ideological responses are assessed in 7.2.

In figure 5.1.1, both WC female groups display a close similarity in the choice of FACE variant to that of their male counterparts. The obvious exception being the use of the diphthong [eɪ], the second most frequently used variant (albeit in low frequency) for the younger working class

female group, which was not used by the younger WC males. In the middle class, the group who produced the highest percentage of this variant ([eɪ]) was the younger males (76.0%). This group's use of [eɪ] (130 tokens from the total of 427 overall) was almost one third (30.5%) of the total percentage of [eɪ] use in DE. This was in contrast to the older MC males who chose to produce the diphthong for 22% of their tokens.

The preponderance of the monophthong [e:] within the WC speaker groups meant that only 47 tokens of the diphthongs were produced (18.2% of their FACE distribution). The younger WC females, who produced the most instances of [e:] across all eight Darlington English speaker groups also produced the highest amount of the diphthong in the working class, although this was only 12% of their overall FACE token usage.

The third variant [eə] accounted for 8.4% of the total distribution. In terms of group use, this variant is used most frequently by WC speakers and more specifically in the speech of the WC males. Indeed, the diphthong accounted for almost a fifth of the overall WC male FACE vowel usage (16.2% by young speakers and 19.2% by older WC speakers), whilst older WC female speakers produced 13.2%.

The following section outlines the results for the three FACE variants in the formal reading word list style.

5.1.2 FACE vowel – Reading word list style

As with the pilot study results (cf. 4.2) in the RWL and the FACE results from the free conversation, both the monophthong [e:] and the diphthong [eɪ] are the most frequently produced variants by Darlington English speakers. The overall distribution of the three FACE variants in the RWL is shown in table 5.1.4 below:

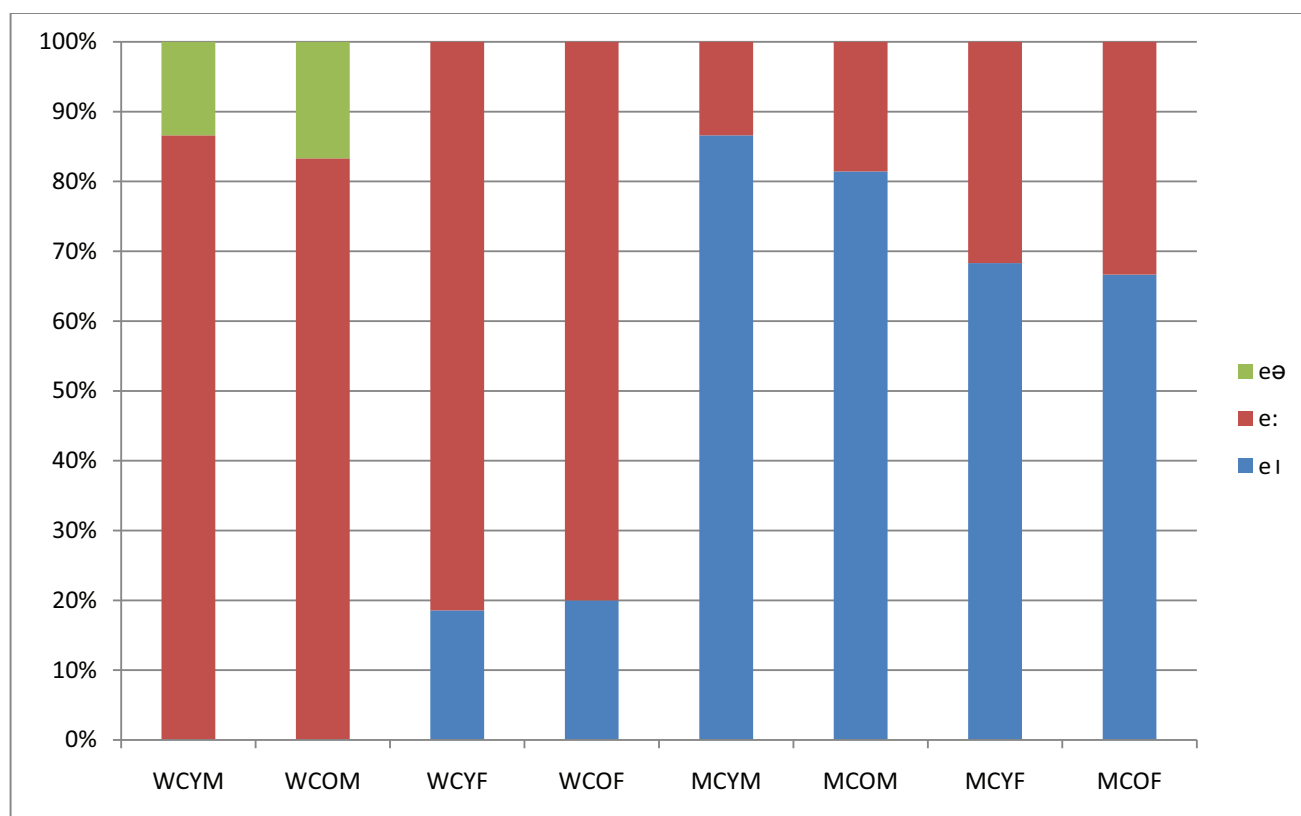
Table 5.1.4: Total token distribution of FACE variants – RWL style

Overall distribution	[eɪ]		[e:]		[eə]	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
n. 480	211	44.14	251	52.51	18	3.35

The total token distribution by speaker group is shown in table 5.1.5 and the percentage distributions are shown in figure 5.1.2 below:

Table 5.1.5: Token distribution of FACE variants – RWL style

Group	[eɪ]	[e:]	[eə]
WCYM	0	52	8
WCOM	0	50	10
WCYF	16	44	0
WCOF	12	48	0
MCYM	52	8	0
MCOM	44	16	0
MCYF	47	13	0
MCOF	40	20	0
TOTAL	211	251	18

Figure 5.1.2: FACE variants by speaker group – RWL style (%)

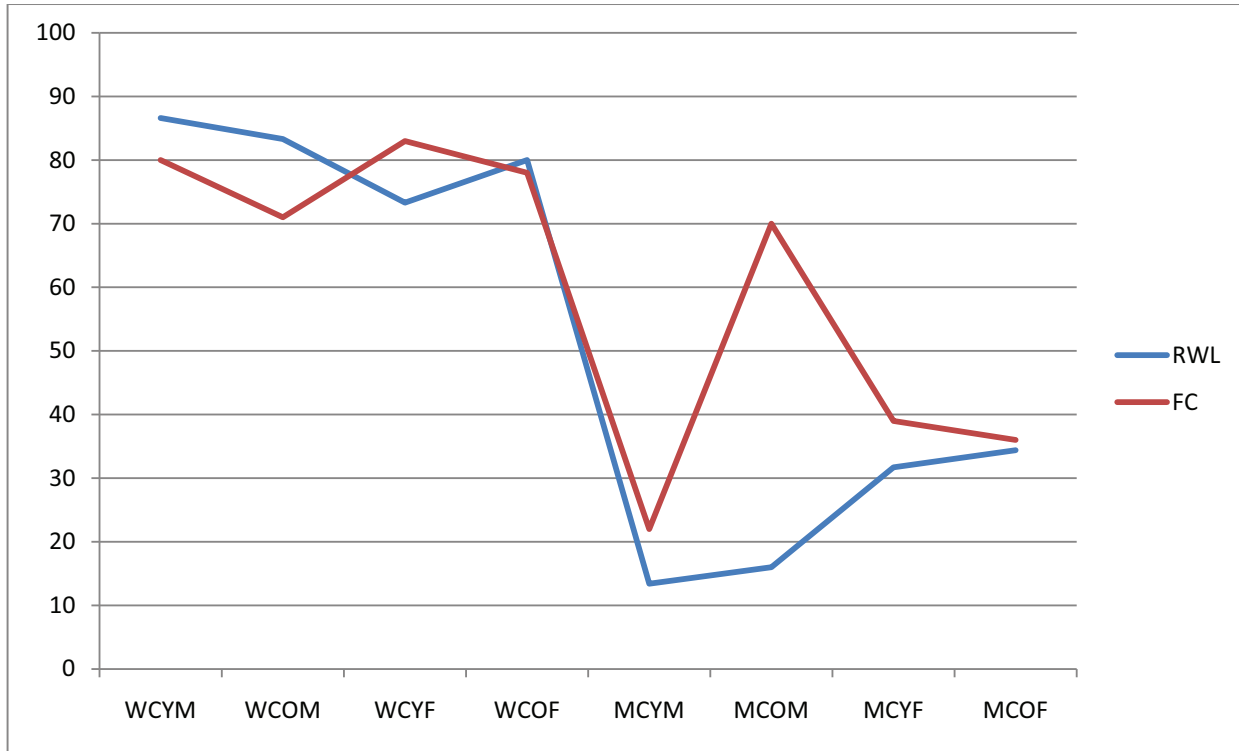
Log-linear results reveal that the overall trends in the formal reading style (as with the conversational data) for FACE for both age ($p < .342$) and sex ($p < .566$) are not significant, whilst ‘class’ ($p < .0001$) is significant. Again, the significance for ‘class’ may be due to the difference in ‘class’ use of both close-mid monophthong [e:] and closing diphthong [eɪ], whilst use of the centring diphthong is confined to solely WC male use. The use of the closing diphthong [eɪ] is very much prevalent in MC speech, but not so in WC speech. Conversely, the peripheral monophthong [e:] is used mainly by the WC. The WC male speakers did not produce a single realisation of the diphthong [eɪ]. Interestingly, the older WC males produced 17 tokens of this diphthong [eɪ], in the informal free conversation. However, as with the FC, the older WC males favour the schwa diphthong [eə] as their second variant. This variant was also produced by their younger speaking counterparts (13.3%) but is not present in any of the remaining six DE speaker groups.

Unlike the WC speakers, the MC speakers show a preference for the diphthong [eɪ] (86.6, 73.3, 68.3 and 66.6%). From the perspective of ‘class’ use vis à vis the use of the monophthong [e:] and diphthong [eɪ], it is interesting to compare both sets of younger male speaker group results. Whilst the WC males use 87% of the close-mid monophthong, the MC males use a similar figure (86.6%) but of the closing diphthong [eɪ]. Unlike the WC males, the MC younger males use the monophthong [e:] only around 13% of the time. A discussion as to the evidence in the shift in style between the FC and RWL stimuli amongst the 32 speakers is now put forward.

5.1.3 Effect of speaking style

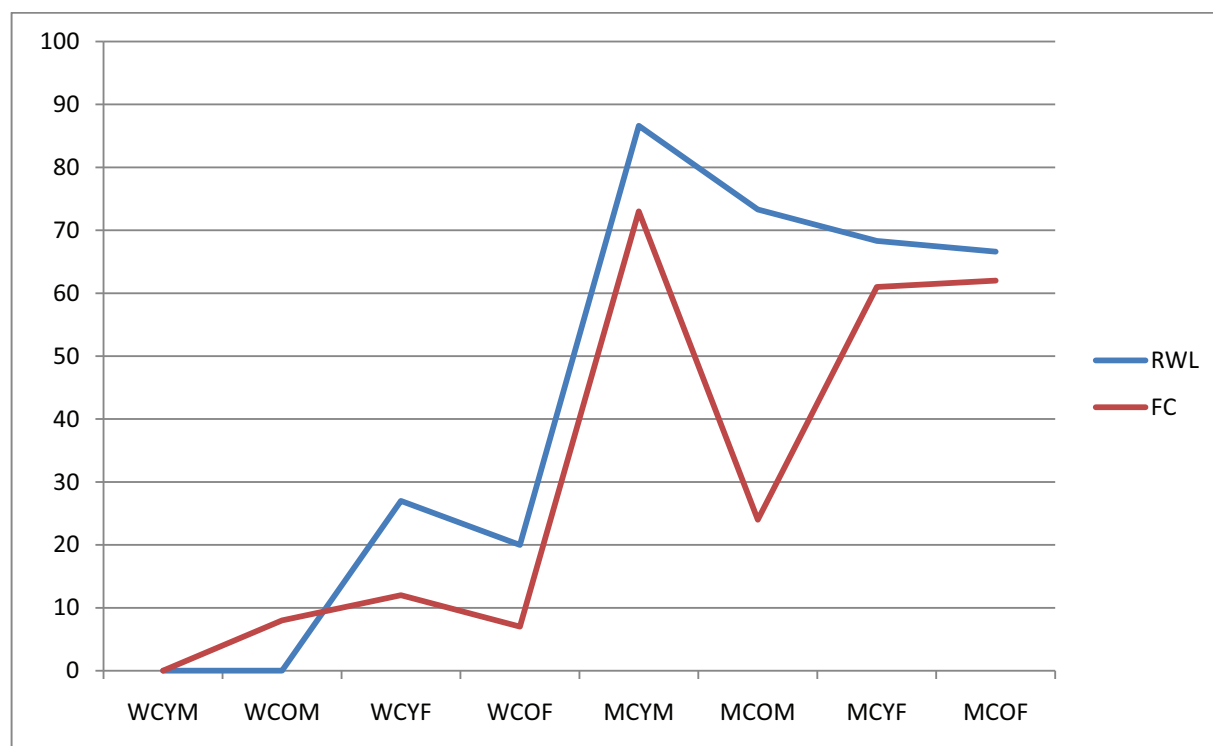
Labov (1972) believes that style shifting is indicative of “ideologically motivated manifestations of linguistic insecurity”. Indeed, shifting from one variant to another from a less formal to a more formal style (i.e. from FC to RWL), suggests that that particular variant is indicative of a linguistic marker, i.e. a linguistic variable to which social interpretation is overtly attached. The following section compares both formal and informal styles for the close-mid [e:] monophthong and diphthongal variant [eɪ]. The section will highlight which groups are ‘style shifting’ across the styles investigated.

Figure 5.1.3 shows that the general pattern, for five speaker groups at least, is a reduction in use of [e:] in RWL style in contrast to FC style. However the style lines do cross. Three WC groups increase their use of the monophthong in the RWL (8% (younger WC males), 13% (older WC males) and 2% (older WC females)).

Figure 5.1.3: Plots of the monophthong [e:] in RWL and FC styles (%)

The older middle class males (16% of [e:] in the RWL to 70% in the free conversation) are the group who appear to display the greatest amount of style-difference for [e:]. The closeness of fit between the two lines suggests that the difference in styles of the older MC males does affect the correlation between the figures for RWL and the FC, showing no significance ($r = .510$, $p < .197$).

Figure 5.1.4 shows the correlation between RWL and FC styles for production of the centring diphthong [eɪ] in Darlington English. As opposed to figure 5.1.3 in which the lines cross three times, there is only one point at which the lines cross for [eɪ]: the older WC males.

Figure 5.1.4: Plots of the diphthong [eɪ] in RWL and FC styles (%)

The difference is an 8% distribution between the FC and the more formal RWL, in which no production of [eɪ] was made by this group. Interestingly, their younger WC male counterparts do not use [eɪ] either formally or informally. The difference between RWL and FC styles for the remainder of the sample speaker groups shows higher percentage distribution of [eɪ] within the RWL than in free conversation. The difference across ‘classes’ is evident with both lines peaking in younger MC male speech. Again, as a result of the difference in distribution in their monophthongal use, the older MC male use of [eɪ] is much higher in formal than in informal speech. This difference between styles however does not affect the outcome of a Pearson correlation coefficient highlighting the similarity between both lines ($r = .872$, $p = .005$).

The question of style differences is returned to in the discussion of GOAT variants in 5.2.3. The following section considers the effect of following context on FACE variant use.

5.1.4 Effect of following context

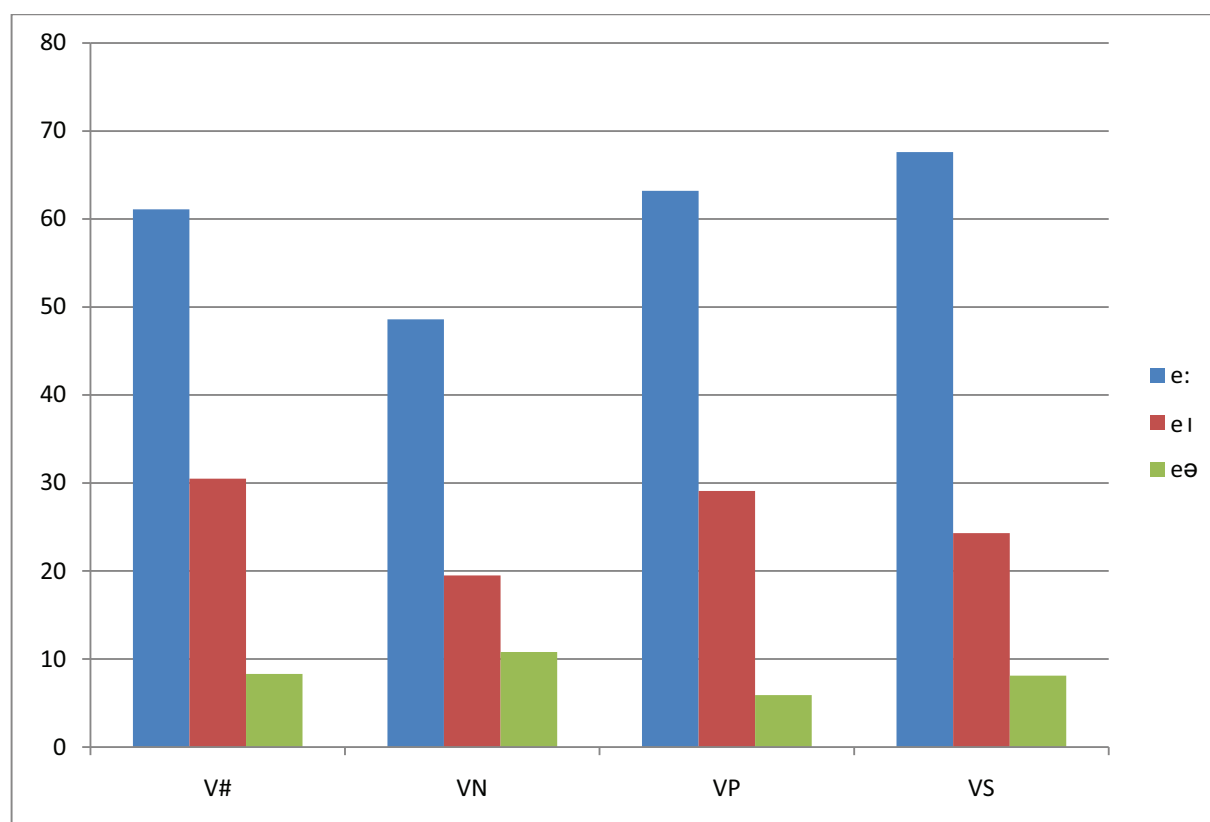
The contexts surveyed for the FACE vowel are:

- V# - (e) in word final open syllable position, as in *'day'*, *'array'*
- VN – (e) following a nasal production as in *'insane'* and *'lame'*
- VP – (e) followed by voiceless plosive [p,t,k], *'tape'*, *'make'*, *'case'*
- VS – (e) followed by voiceless fricative [f,s], *'safe'*, *'case'*

The effect of following context on the distribution of both close-mid monophthong [e:] and closing diphthong [eɪ] were highly significant given the log linear results ([e:]: $p < .0001$ and [eɪ]: $p < .0009$). This may have been due to the distribution of both in the open syllable context (V#), with just under half (47.6%) of the total distribution of FACE variants produced in this context. For the closing diphthong [eɪ], over half (53.2% - 227) of the tokens for this variant were produced in the V# category. The peripheral monophthong accounted for 61.6% (454 tokens) of the total distribution of the open syllable (V#), while just under half (62/130 tokens – 47.7%) of the centring diphthong [eə] were found in this context. Table 5.1.6 below illustrates the distribution of the three variants [eɪ], [e:] and [eə] across all four contexts. Figure 5.1.5 shows these results graphically.

Table 5.1.6: Distribution of FACE variant tokens across lexical contexts

	e:	eɪ	eə	TOTAL
V#	454	227	62	743
VN	246	69	38	353
VP	213	98	20	331
VS	92	33	10	135
TOTAL	1005	427	130	1562

Figure 5.1.5: Percentage distribution across lexical contexts for three FACE variants

The distributions within the contexts for each variant [eɪ], [e:] and [eə] is shown in figure 5.1.5. The symmetry of each set of percentage results shown in figure 5.1.5 for each lexical context suggested there were no significantly distinct patterns of use for each variant within the four contexts.

Both categories of VN and VP showed similar percentage distributions with 22.6% (VN) and 21.2% (VP) of the total FACE token usage. The majority of tokens in both VN and VP was the long monophthong [e:], with 246/353 (69.7%) in VN and 213/331 (64.4%) in VP. The final lexical category, VS, had the least FACE tokens (135/1562). Again, the context was dominated by the use of the monophthong [e:] (92/135). The distribution of the diphthong [eɪ] by class showed that the MC speakers produced all 33 tokens. Given the similarity of distribution of the three variants across all four following contexts, it appeared that with the high proportion of variants in V# aside, context did not have a major effect on the results for FACE.

The following section (5.2) assesses the distribution of GOAT vowel variants across both formal (RWL) and informal (FC) styles.

5.2.0 GOAT VARIANTS

As detailed in the pilot study (cf. 4.1), for the GOAT vowel, four variants were tracked. The first is a long peripheral monophthongal variant [o:]; the second, a closing diphthongal variant, in this case [oʊ]. The third variant is a more central and distinct phoneme to the long peripheral monophthong, transcribed as [ɵ:], with the fourth [ɔ:], being a back, relatively open, rounded production. For the centralised version of the close-mid monophthong [ö:], the categorisation was seen to be a closer approximation of the unrounded vocoid [ɵ:] and was scored thus.

The centring diphthong [ʊə], prevalent in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Viereck (1966), Hughes and Trudgill (1979), Watt (1998), Watt and Milroy (1999)) and Middlesbrough⁸⁶ (Watt and Llamas (2004)), was used only twice (by the same WC male speaker) and, given the extent of the token total (1614) is therefore not reported. Table 5.2.0 illustrates the recorded qualities of the GOAT variants:

Table 5.2.0: Recorded qualities of GOAT variants – FC style

oʊ	o:	ɔ:	ə:
oʊ	o:	ɔ:	ə:
əʊ	u:	ɔ+:	ö:
	o+	ɔ+:	
	o+		

5.2.1 GOAT vowel: Free conversation style

Table 5.2.1 below highlights the overall distribution of these GOAT variants in free conversation. The table bears a striking similarity to that of the FACE variant distribution (cf. 5.1.1), with the preference among Darlington English speakers for the long peripheral monophthongal variant (in this case [o:]):

⁸⁶ Although figures are based on reading word list stimuli.

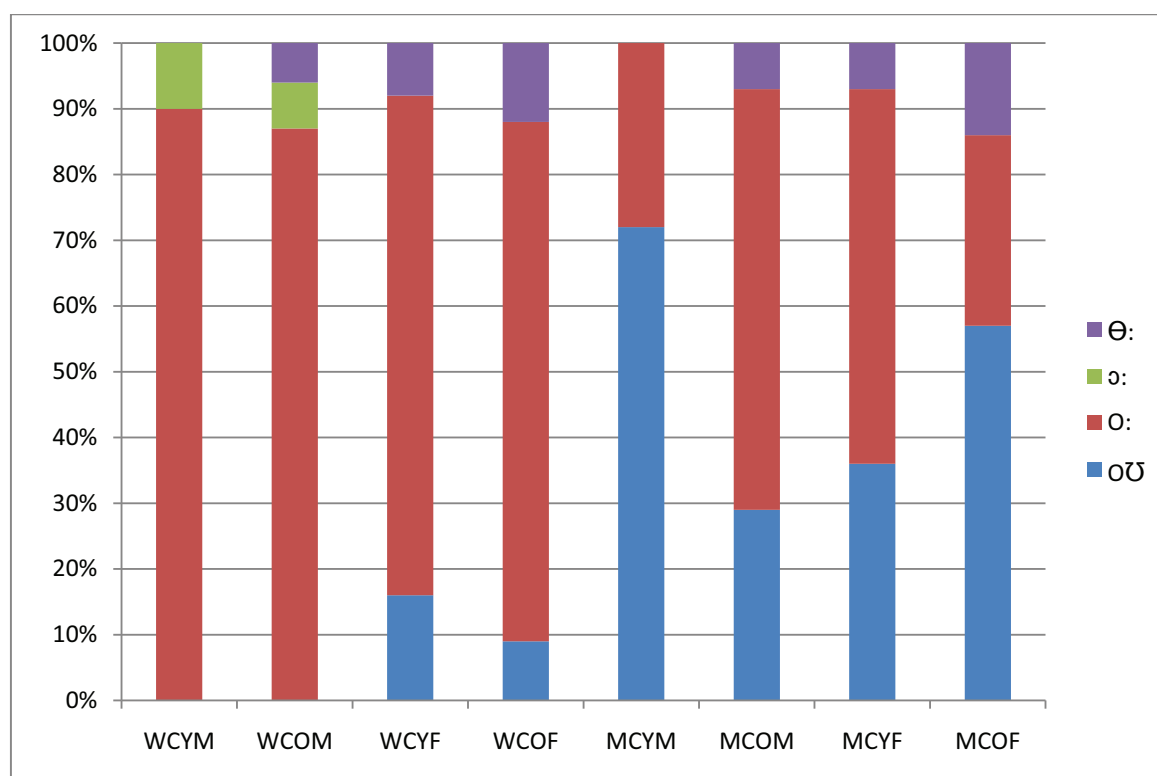
Table 5.2.1: Overall token distribution of FC GOAT vowel variants

Overall Distribution	oʊ		o:		ɔ:		ə:	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
n. 1614	409	24.9	1067	66.4	21	1.3	117	7.3

The overall variant token use by speaker group is illustrated in table 5.2.2 below. In addition, figure 5.2.1 illustrates these distributions graphically:

Table 5.2.2: Variants of GOAT – by speaker group – FC style

Group	[o:]	[oʊ]	[ɔ:]	[ə:]	Total
WCYM	186	0	12	0	198
WCOM	183	0	9	12	204
WCYF	172	28	0	17	217
WCOF	163	15	0	30	208
MCYM	59	136	0	0	195
MCOM	125	53	0	12	190
MCYF	119	71	0	12	202
MCOF	60	106	0	34	200
TOTAL	1067	409	21	117	1618

Figure 5.2.1: GOAT variants by speaker group – FC style (%)

As with FACE, the results from log-linear statistical tests show that ‘class’ has a highly significant effect ($p < .0001$) on the overall data. Again, this may be due to the prolific use in the WC of the close-mid monophthong [ɔ:]. Similarly to the results in FACE, both age ($p < .455$) and sex ($p < .210$) were not significant at the 5% level in terms of overall GOAT token distribution. The overall effect of the ‘class’~sex interaction is significant statistically ($p = .012$).

The monophthongal variant [ɔ:] with 1067 of the total of 1614 GOAT variant tokens makes it the preferred variant for DE speakers: approximately two thirds of the overall GOAT usage, at 66.1%. The preference for [ɔ:] within Darlington English is at its highest in the speech of the WC males (90% (younger males) and 87% (older males)). The high use of the monophthong in both groups plausibly contributes to the statistical significance of the ‘class’~sex relationship for GOAT token usage.

Two Darlington English speaker groups differed from the overall trend in regard to use of the long peripheral monophthong [o:]: the younger MC males and the older MC females who use 28% and 29% of [o:] respectively. The younger MC males and the older MC females showed least preference for the ‘generally northern’ monophthong (cf. Wells 1982) of the eight Darlington English speaker groups. The younger MC males produced over 70% of the diphthong [oʊ]; the highest of any of the MC groups and 14% higher than that of the older MC females. Elsewhere in the middle-class, with over 65% usage, the older MC males are the main users of the close-mid monophthong.

Apart from the close-mid monophthong [o:], what was clear from the results was the difference in use within the middle class of the diphthong [oʊ] compared to that of the working class. Although the diphthong was produced by the WC females, their realisation of this variant was low (15% - younger, 8% - older). The use of the diphthong in the working class showed a clear difference to that of the middle class. Due to the production of the close-mid monophthong both older MC males and younger MC females produced relatively lower use of the diphthong (28% and 34% respectively) than the younger MC males and older MC females (72% and 56% respectively). From table 5.2.2 and figure 5.2.1, it is evident that the use of the remaining two variants is far less than both [o:] and [oʊ]. The combined token count of the two variants [ɔ: θ:] based on the distribution of tokens highlighted in table 5.2.1, is only 138 from 1614.

Thus, both variants made up only 8.6% of the total GOAT vowel tokens in free conversation. Two patterns within this small proportion of token results are notable. Firstly, *all* instances of the back, relatively open, rounded variant [ɔ:] were produced by the WC males. The interest lies in the fact that this is the preferred variant in the vocalic system of Middlesbrough (Watt and Llamas (2004)). It is clear therefore, that this variant is certainly not as prominent in DE as it is in Middlesbrough English. Secondly, the centralised unrounded variant [θ:] present in GOAT variation in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (13.6% in Tyneside informal conversation), constituted only 7.3% of the total Darlington English GOAT distribution. The variant was used by six speaker groups. The older WC females and their MC counterparts were the highest users of [θ:] with

16% and 12% of their total GOAT realisations, both younger male groups *did not* produce the variant.

The next section outlines the use of GOAT vowel variants in the formal RWL style.

5.2.2 GOAT vowel: Reading word list style

This section deals with GOAT variants in a formal reading word list (RWL) situation across all eight speaker groups. As opposed to the free conversation (FC), only three variants were realised in the RWL: the centralised unrounded monophthong [ə:], the long peripheral monophthong [o:] and the closing diphthong [oʊ]. The overall distributions of each of these variants are shown in table 5.2.3:

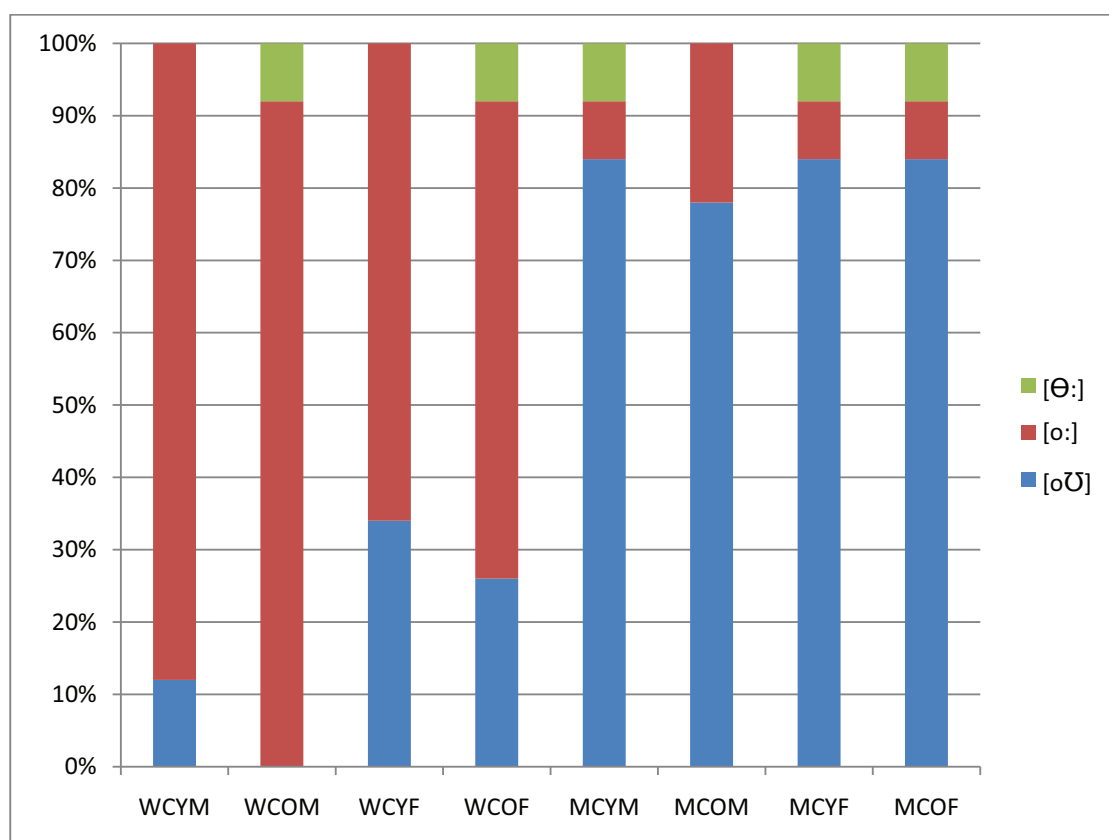
Table 5.2.3: Total token distribution of GOAT variants – RWL style

Overall distribution	[oʊ]		[o:]		[ə:]	
	n.	%	n.	%.	n.	%
n. 384	197	51.3	172	44.8	15	3.9

The distribution of each and the token distributions by each speaker group are shown in figure 5.2.2 and table 5.2.4 below:

Table 5.2.4: Token distribution of GOAT variants – RWL style

Group	[oʊ]	[o:]	[ə:]	Total
WCYM	6	42	0	48
WCOM	0	45	3	48
WCYF	16	32	0	48
WCOF	12	33	3	48
MCYM	42	3	3	48
MCOM	37	11	0	48
MCYF	42	3	3	48
MCOF	42	3	3	48

Figure 5.2.2: Distribution of variants in GOAT vowel – RWL style

What is obvious from figure 5.2.2 is the contrast between WC and MC in the use of the long monophthong [o:] and the closing diphthong [oʊ]. As with the informal (FC) stimuli, the monophthong [o:] was prevalent in WC speech. The significance of ‘class’ in regard to GOAT vowel variants in the RWL was evident when applying log linear models ($p < .0001$). Sex ($p < .101$) and age ($p < .075$) were not significant factors. The preference for the peripheral monophthong was not the case in middle class Darlington English speech in this style. All four MC groups’ production of the diphthong [oʊ] ranged between 80% and 87% in RWL style (80% in the MC older males and 87% in the younger MC males). In comparison with the FC, there was an increase in production of the diphthong by WC females, with the young females producing 34% and the older WC female speakers 25% of the diphthong.

The centralised rounded monophthong [ɜ:] was used sparingly by five of the total of eight speaker groups (using only 3 tokens each). The variant was not employed at all by WC younger speakers and MC older males.

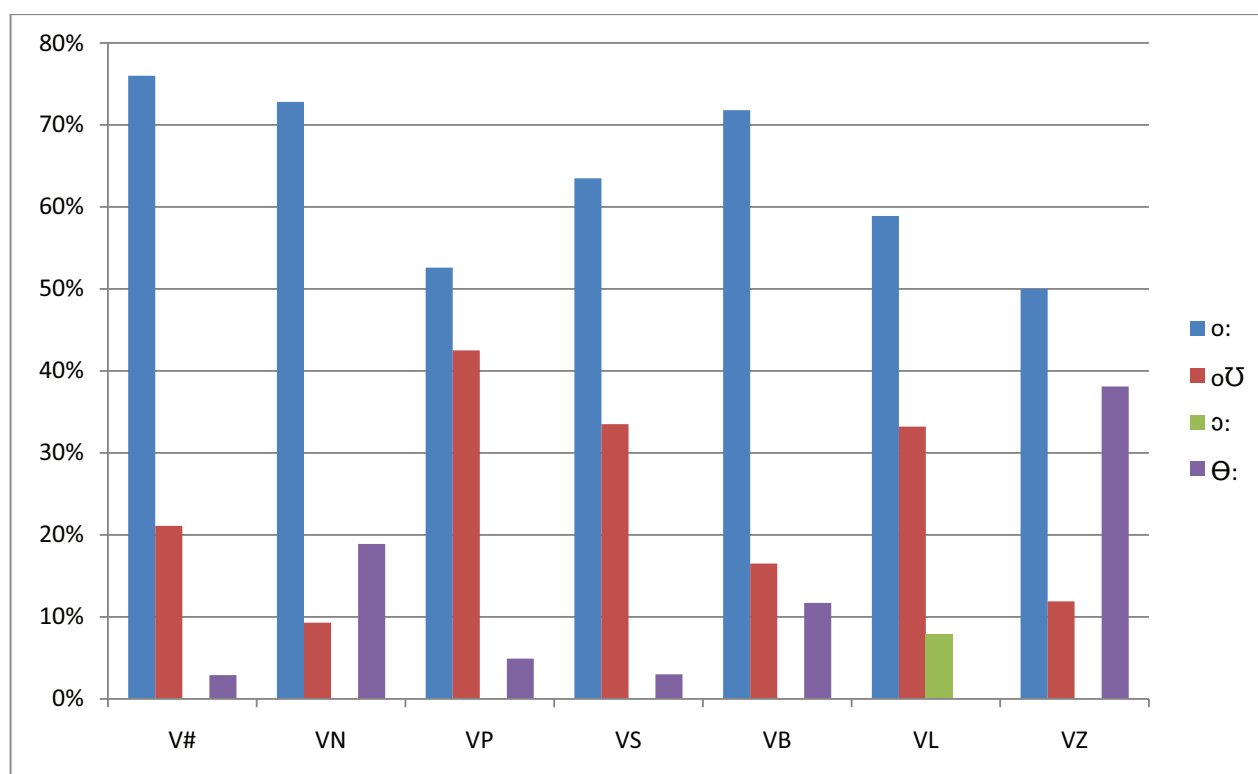
The following section considers the effect of following context on GOAT variant use.

5.2.3 Effect of following context

In addition to the four contexts used in the analysis of FACE (V#, VN, VS and VP), three more (VB, VZ and VL) are classified:

VB = (o) + voiced plosive [b]
 VZ = (o) + voiced fricative [z]
 VL = (o) + [l]

Figure 5.2.2 illustrates the use of the four GOAT variants across the seven phonological contexts:

Figure 5.2.3: Distribution by context of four GOAT vowel variants

From figure 5.2.3 above, the prominence across all seven lexical contexts of the two preferred Darlington English GOAT vowel variants ([o:] and [oʊ]) was evident. Figure 5.2.2 particularly highlights the preference for the long monophthong [o:] in every lexical context. The overall distributions and percentage use of each of the four variants across the seven lexical contexts is tabulated below:

Table 5.2.5: Distribution by context of four GOAT vowel variants

Context	Token Total		[o:]		[oʊ]		[ɔ:]		[ə:]	
V#	554	34.4%	422	76.0%	117	21.1%	0	0%	15	2.9%
VN	227	14.1%	163	72.8%	21	9.3%	0	0%	43	18.9%
VP	226	13.99%	119	52.6%	96	42.5%	0	0%	11	4.9%
VS	167	10.3%	106	63.5%	56	33.5%	0	0%	5	3.0%
VB	85	5.3%	61	71.8%	14	16.5%	0	0%	10	11.7%
VL	263	16.28%	150	58.9%	92	33.2%	21	7.9%	0	0%
VZ	92	5.69%	46	50.0%	13	11.9%	0	0%	33	38.1%
	1614	100%	1067	66.4%	409	24.89%	21	1.3%	117	7.3%

Over a third (34.4%) of the total GOAT tokens (554/1614) are found in the ‘open’ syllable position (V#). Lexical contexts VN (where (o) is followed by a nasal production) and VP (where (o) is followed by a voiceless plosive) made up over a third of the total GOAT token distribution (227 and 226 tokens respectively). With 16.28% of the total distribution, the VL context, in which (o) precedes a liquid production was the second largest overall, with the monophthong [o:] constituting around 60% of this context. The remaining contexts, VS, VB and VZ, resulted in GOAT token counts of 167, 85 and 92 respectively.

The total number of [o:] tokens in open syllable position (422 of the total 558 tokens) is noteworthy, given the similarity between WC token usage (220 tokens) and MC use (202 tokens). This pattern was very different to the one seen in the same lexical context for FACE (cf. 5.1.6). The use of the diphthong [oʊ] within this lexical context was the highest of the seven contexts with 117 tokens (21.1% of the total [oʊ] tokens). High use of the diphthong was also seen in VP (96 tokens) and VL contexts (92 tokens). Within the latter context (VL), one result in the monophthongal distribution was notable. In this category, the WC produced 140/155 tokens

for [o:] (90%). As mentioned in 5.2.1, only 21 tokens of [ɔ:] were realised in the Darlington English corpus. All 21 tokens were produced by the WC males and all 21 were produced in the VL category⁸⁷. Thus, in WC male speech in DE for GOAT in VL, either [o:] or [ɔ:] are produced. Thus, we may visualise the following rule:

WC Males: (o) before /l/ = [o:] *or* [ɔ:]

Within the same category, it was also evident that 25% of the MC use of [oʊ] was produced in the VL context. From the perspective of the other social categories of age and sex, it was male speakers (58/87) and the younger speakers (55/87) who produced [oʊ] most prominently in this category: this was emphasised by the 43 [oʊ] tokens produced by the younger MC males in this category. Other categories (VP – 86/96 tokens (89.6%), V# - 101/117 tokens (86.3%)) showed that the MC speakers were the main producers of the diphthong [oʊ] in these contexts.

Of the results for the fourth variant, the unrounded centralised monophthong [ə:], the categories in which the variant occurred most frequently are VZ (28%) and VN (37%). Within the former category (VZ), it was interesting that of the 33 of the overall [ə:] tokens, 30 tokens were produced by older DE speakers.

In conclusion, as with FACE (cf. 5.1.2), the lexical context in which most GOAT vowel realisations were made, was the open syllable V#. Furthermore, the addition of three further contexts (VB, VL and VZ), especially VL, given the results recorded, was justified.

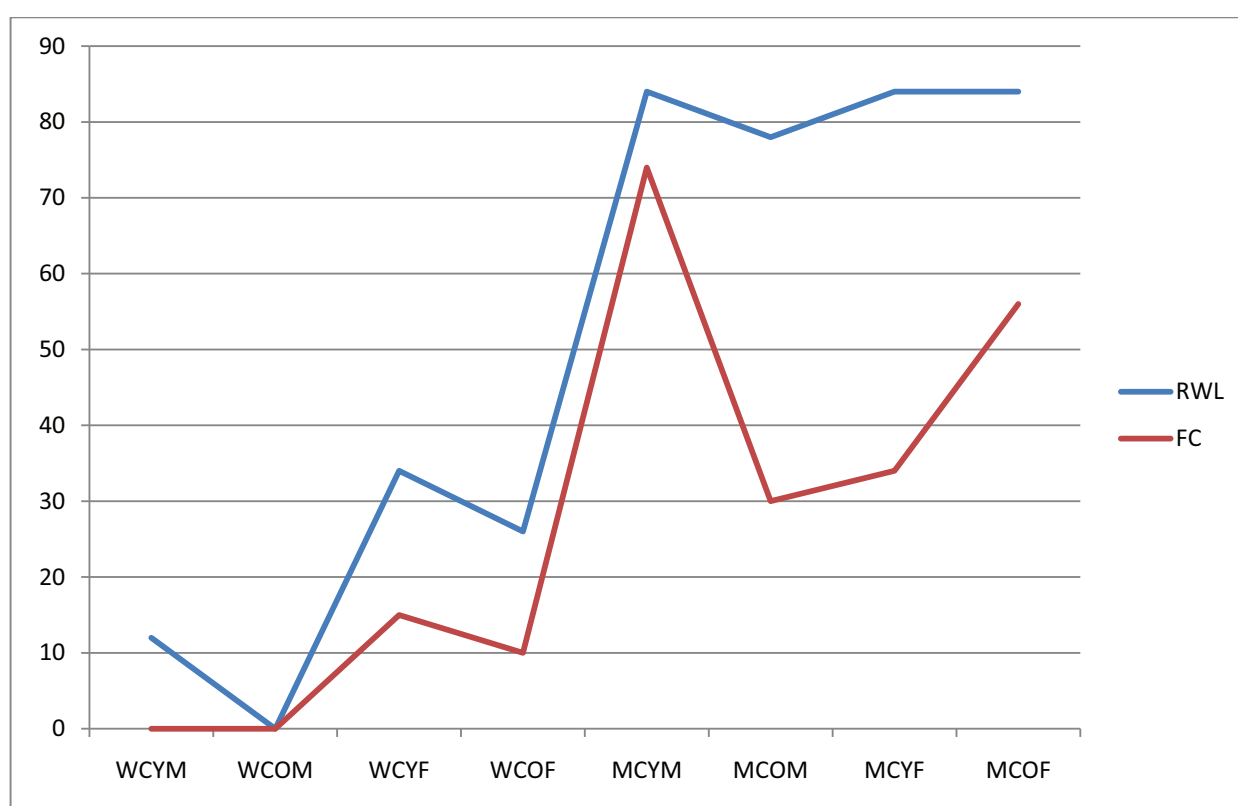
A comparison examining the effect of speaking style between both formal and informal styles for both the long peripheral [o:] and the closing diphthong [oʊ] is now considered.

⁸⁷ Interestingly, Watt (1998: 189) describes similar usage of [ɔ:] before /l/ in Newcastle-upon-Tyne within the PVC (Phonological Variation and Change) corpus of results with similar male use in Tyneside English (cf. also Viereck 1966). Moisl et al. (2006) state that gender affects choice of linguistic variant in the NECTE (Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English) also.

5.2.4 Effect of speaking style: distribution of closing diphthongs - style differences

Figure 5.2.4 shows the distribution of the closing diphthong [ɔʊ] across both styles of the reading word list (RWL) and the free conversation (FC):

Figure 5.2.4: Plots of closing diphthong [ɔʊ] in RWL and FC (%)



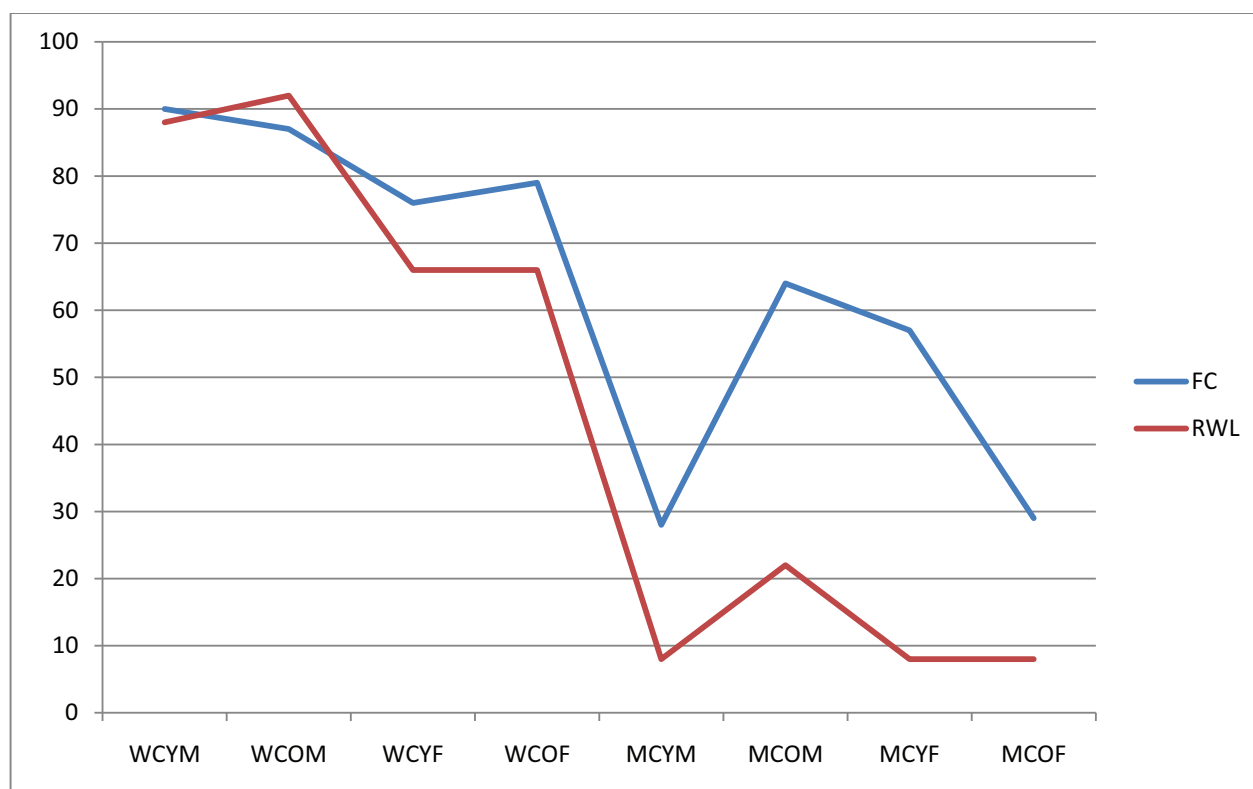
It is evident that the formal style of the RWL shows a higher proportion of the closing diphthong [ɔʊ] to that of the FC. The low proportions in both the RWL and FC of working class diphthongal use are somewhat closely similar in figure 5.2.4 whilst those in the MC are not.

With the exception of the younger MC males (whose difference of [ɔʊ] use between RWL and FC is only 15%), the remaining groups within this 'class' show a higher use of the diphthong in formal rather than informal situations. The older MC males' have a 50% difference in production

of the diphthong between formal (RWL) and informal (FC) styles. This difference in styles is true also of the younger MC females (51%). Even with the evident shift in styles for both groups, the ‘goodness of fit’ between each line, using a Pearson correlation coefficient shows a significant relationship between them ($r = 0.872$, $p < .005$). The following section details the style-differences of the preferred GOAT variant in Darlington English.

5.2.5 Effect of speaking style: distribution of peripheral monophthongs - style differences

What is apparent from figure 5.2.5 is the crossing of both lines of formal styles in the older WC male group. Interestingly, the group produce more instances of [o:] in the RWL than in the FC. This appears to be inconsistent with the other speaker group results although it is worth noting that their younger WC speaking counterparts show only a 2% deviance between the FC and RWL. Notably, a Pearson correlation coefficient for between both lines ($r = .510$, $p < .197$) shows an association is present.

Figure 5.2.5: Plots of the peripheral monophthong [o:] in RWL and FC (%)

The shift from the high WC use of the monophthong [o:] in both formal styles is contrasted with the drop in use of the MC. Within the RWL, the percentage use of the monophthong by the MC reaches 20% in the older males, whilst use in the remaining three groups is 5% in both younger male and older female groups and 10% in the younger female speaker group. As with the closing diphthong [oʊ] there is a significant difference between RWL and FC distributions in the older MC male (44%) and the younger MC female groups (54%). Both the monophthong [o:] and the closing diphthong [oʊ] are compared and contrasted with their corresponding FACE variants in the following section.

5.2.6 FACE and GOAT vowels: style comparison of monophthongs/diphthongs

The results in both 5.1 and 5.2 showed that both FACE and GOAT have similar distribution. It will be remembered that table 5.2.0 showed a distinct similarity to that of table 5.1.0, in terms of overall distribution of close mid monophthongs and centring diphthongs. The variables both possess long peripheral monophthongs [e:] and [o:] as well as closing diphthongs [eɪ] and [oʊ]. The following section will assess the similarity, or indeed lack of similarity between both sets of variants ([eɪ] and [oʊ] and [e:] and [o:]) in both free conversation and reading word list styles, discussing the correlations between both sets of distributions. Both sets of monophthongs and diphthongs and the token distributions of each per speaker group are shown in table 5.2.6 below:

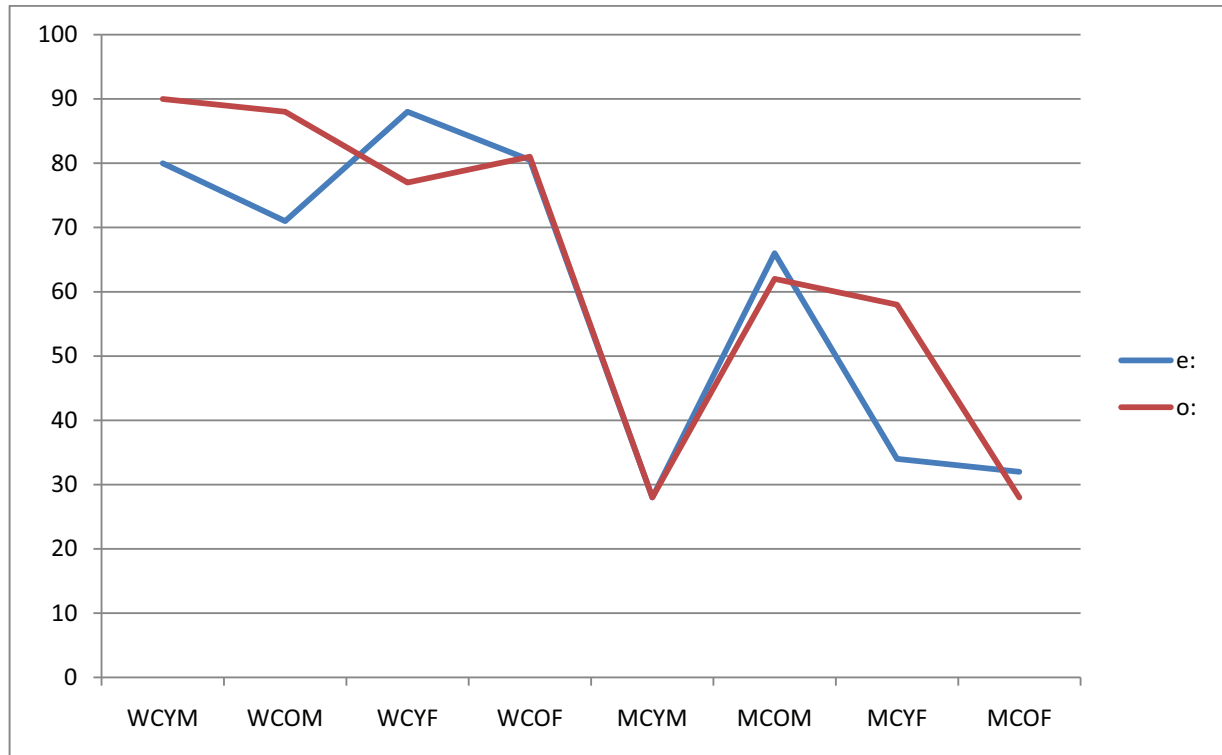
Table 5.2.6: Token distributions per speaker group of [eɪ]/[oʊ] and [e:]/[o:] in FC

Group	MONOPHTHONGS		DIPHTHONGS	
	[e:]	[o:]	[eɪ]	[oʊ]
WCYM	167	186	0	0
WCOM	148	183	17	0
WCYF	177	179	21	28
WCOF	165	167	9	15
MCYM	47	59	130	136
MCOM	148	126	39	53
MCYF	78	119	105	74
MCOF	76	61	106	106

5.2.7 Peripheral monophthongs: [e:] and [o:]

Figure 5.2.6 highlights the distributions for both [e:] and [o:] in FC style:

Figure 5.2.6: Plots of FACE and GOAT peripheral monophthongs in FC (%)

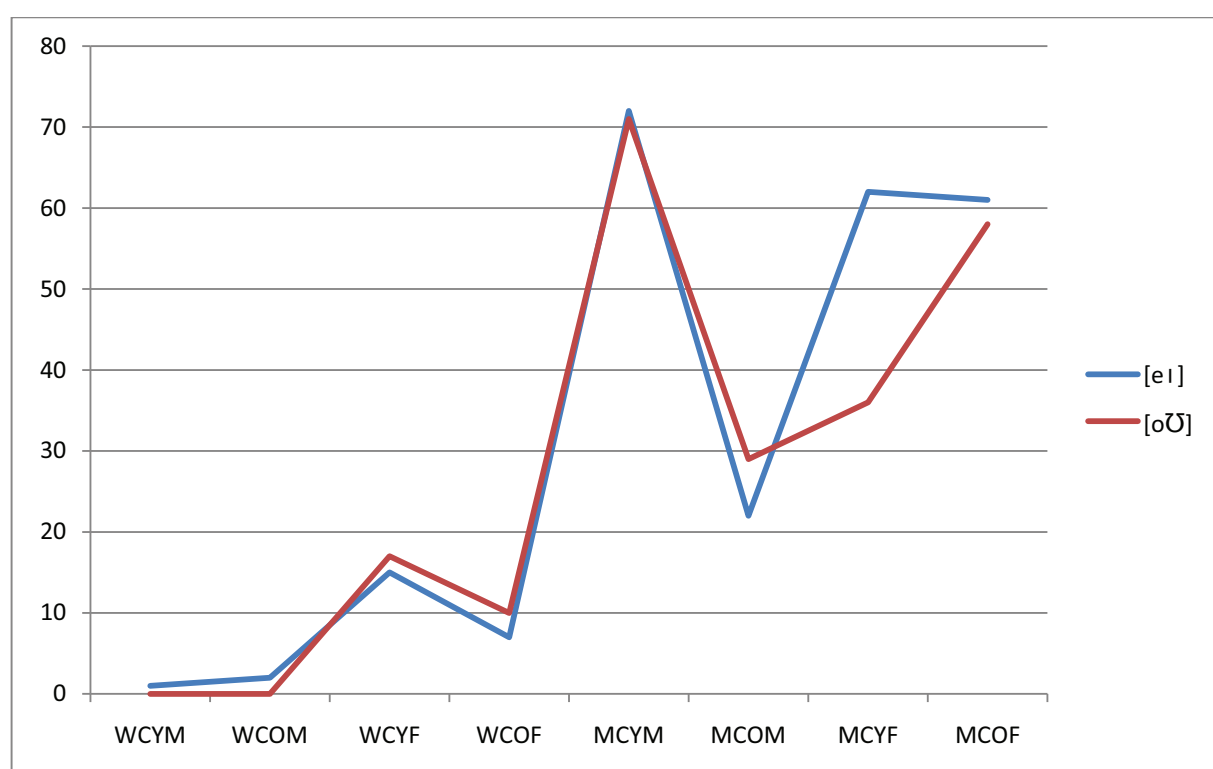


The similarity between both lines in figure 5.2.6 is generally close, especially in the MC for both long peripheral monophthongs. However, the main discrepancy between the FACE and GOAT monophthong is the relative lack of similarity between the scores of the younger MC female group: this is due to the increased level of [eɪ] in the groups' FC distribution. Results from the Pearson correlation coefficient, suggests 'symmetry' between both close-mid monophthongs in Darlington English informal speech with a very high r value ($r = .912$, $p < .001$).

5.2.8 Closing diphthongs: [eɪ] and [oʊ]

Figure 5.2.7 shows a greater similarity between the scores than did figure 5.2.6. Again, and due to the totals for the peripheral monophthong, the younger MC females show the greatest deviation between the distributions for [eɪ] and [oʊ] (29%):

Figure 5.2.7: Plots of FACE and GOAT closing diphthongs in FC (%)



The closing diphthongal GOAT variant [oʊ] is lower in the main than that of the FACE variant [eɪ], although the significance of this is negligible.

The following section examines both variant sets within a formal style (RWL).

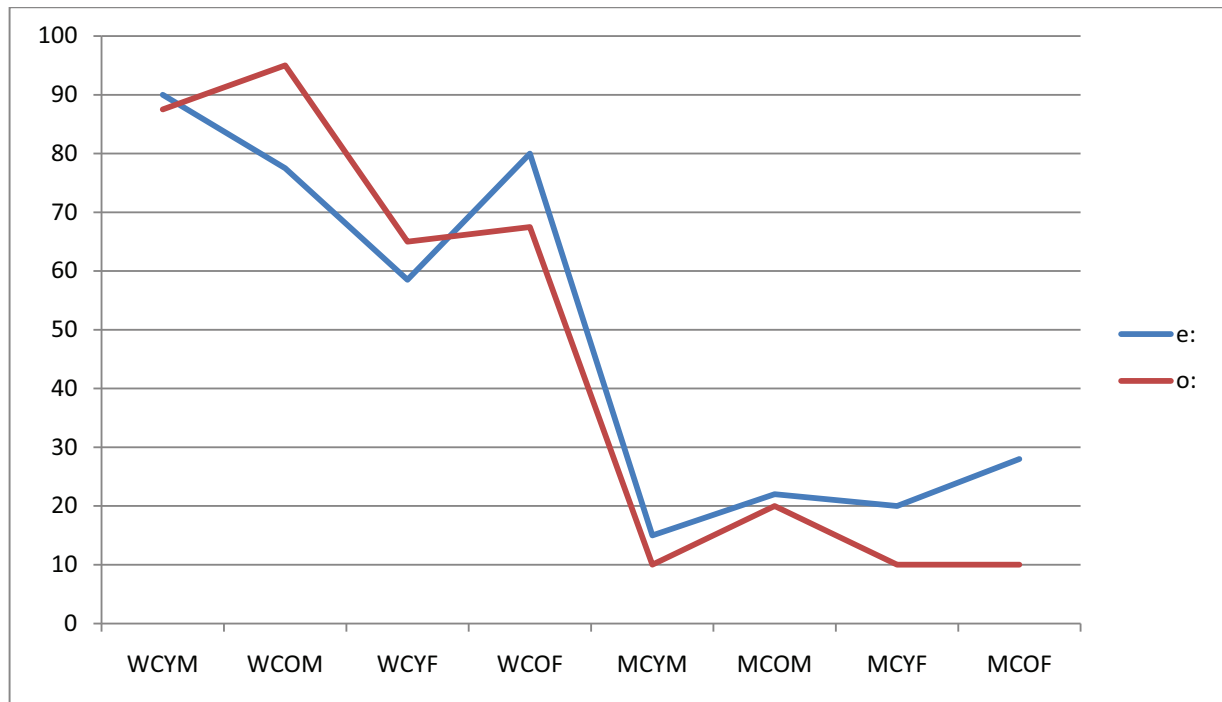
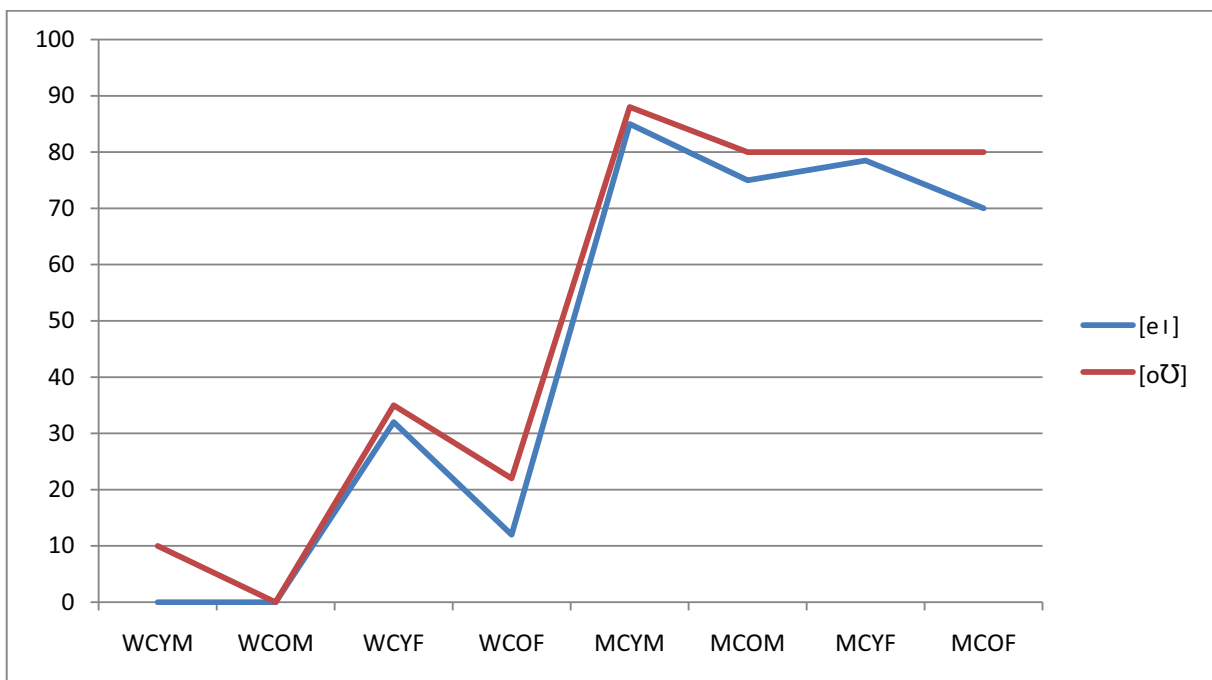
- Reading word list style

Table 5.2.6 shows the token distributions by speaker group for both sets of monophthongs and diphthongs in a formal reading word list style:

Table 5.2.7: Token distribution per speaker group of [eɪ]/[oʊ] and [eː]/[oː]: RWL

Group	MONOPHTHONGS		DIPHTHONGS	
	[eː]	[oː]	[eɪ]	[oʊ]
WCYM	52	42	0	6
WCOM	50	45	0	0
WCYF	44	32	19	16
WCOF	48	33	12	12
MCYM	8	3	52	42
MCOM	16	11	44	37
MCYF	13	3	43	42
MCOF	20	3	40	42

Figures 5.2.8 and 5.2.9 show both sets of results for FACE and GOAT monophthongs and closing diphthongs in the formal reading word list (RWL) style:

Figure 5.2.8: Plots of FACE and GOAT monophthongs: RWL style (%)**Figure 5.2.9: Plots of FACE and GOAT diphthongs: RWL style (%)**

From both figures above there is similarity between the lines of distribution within both graphs when compared to those of the corresponding variants in the more informal FC graphs in 5.2.6 and 5.2.7.

In figure 5.2.8 however, two instances where the lines cross within the WC results (younger males and younger females) are apparent. Aside from these two groups, the main pattern in the RWL for the distribution of the FACE and GOAT monophthongs is that the long peripheral FACE monophthong [e:] has a slightly higher realisation to that of the GOAT monophthong. This is more evident in the middle class than in the working class. The lines in figure 5.2.9 show a greater similarity to that of 5.2.8 with only three groups showing a difference in distribution between their diphthongal production (10%): the older WC and MC females, as well as the younger WC males. In consequence to the greater distribution of the FACE monophthong [e:] shown in 5.2.8, figure 5.2.9 highlights the fact that the GOAT diphthong [oʊ] has the higher distribution over that of the FACE diphthong [eɪ] in every speaker group. The ‘closeness of fit’ for both monophthongs ($r = .962$, $p < .0001$) and diphthongs ($r = .993$, $p < .0001$) in RWL style are highly significant, given the proximity of the r value to +1.

Having addressed both vowel variables, the next section (5.3) moves on to the consonantal results of word-initial (h) followed by (t) word final (5.4) and (t) in word medial position (5.5).

5.3 Word-initial (h)

The following section examines Darlington English speakers’ production of word-initial (h) in both formal and informal situations as a function of sex, age and social “class”. The section examines three word-initial (h) lexical categories ((1) unstressed personal pronouns, (2) unstressed auxiliaries and (3) stressed items), as well as the overall word-initial (h) use by Darlington English speakers.

Within the results below, two variants of word-initial (h) are [h] (showing a full production of (h) in word-initial position); and [Ø] (i.e. *no* production of [h] in word-initial position). Section 5.3.1 outlines the variation in the use of (h) in word initial position within a formal speaking style.

5.3.1 Overall distribution of word initial [h,Ø]: Formal-Style

The stimuli used in the formal style are taken from the second data set, the reading passage, as outlined in 3.2. The results from the reading word list have been omitted, given the fact that every speaker produced all four instances of word initial (h), as [h] in the four items within the word list⁸⁸. The words used in the reading passage are: ‘*his, hard, he, him*’⁸⁹.

Table 5.3.1: Overall distribution of word-initial (h) – Reading passage style

Reading Passage		[h]	[Ø]
Total Tokens	n. 224	163 (72.8%)	61 (27.2%)

Table 5.3.1 shows the distribution of productions of word-initial (h) and those in which (h) was omitted ([Ø]). In a formal situation, it appears that the trend is to produce [h] in word-initial position with 72.8% of the word-initial items produced with [h].

The results below in table 5.3.2 and figure 5.3.1 examine the effects of social ‘class’, sex and age regarding loss or retention of (h) within the reading passage:

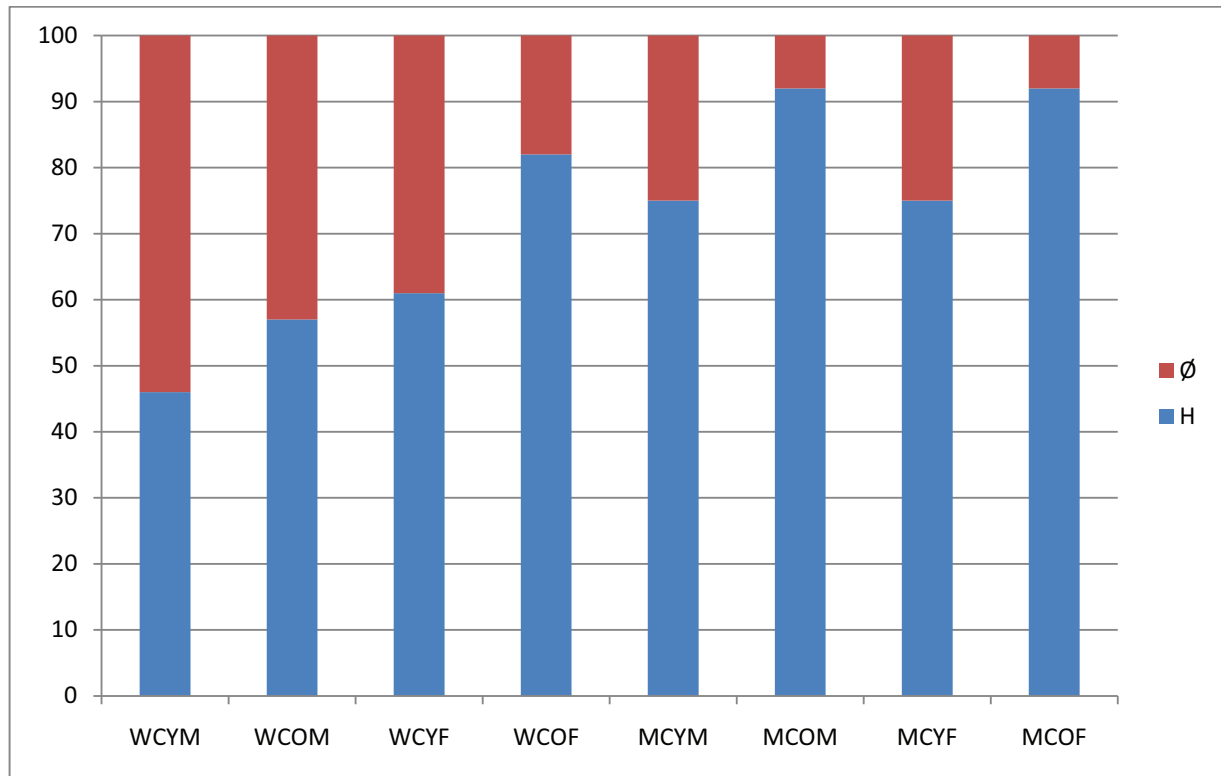
⁸⁸ This move was prompted by initial patterns found in the pilot study in 4.1.

⁸⁹ Although the reading passage has a ‘mix’ of unstressed personal pronouns (he, him, his) and one stressed item (‘hard’), it gives us the chance to view the formal treatment of word-initial (h) by DE speakers.

Table 5.3.2: Token distribution per speaker group of [h,Ø] in formal style

Group	[h]	[Ø]	Total
WCYM	13	15	28
WCOM	17	11	28
WCYF	18	12	28
WCOF	23	5	28
MCYM	21	7	28
MCOM	26	2	28
MCYF	21	7	28
MCOF	26	2	28

The figures shown in table 5.3.2 are replicated using percentage figures in figure 5.3.1:

Figure 5.3.1: Percentage distribution of [h, Ø] in formal style: Reading passage

The results shown in figure 5.3.1 and table 5.3.2, reveal that ‘class’ ($p = .018$) and age are statistically significant ($p < .031$), whilst sex is not ($p < .319$). Figure 5.3.1 highlights these ‘class’ differences, with low levels of [Ø] in the MC against the higher amounts of those in the WC speaker group. The younger WC males are the only group of speakers who exhibit over fifty percent loss of [h] in word initial position within the reading passage. Closer investigation within this particular group reveals that one working class younger male subject produced no instances of [h] in the seven tokens, including the stressed lexical item ‘hard’. Similarly, his intra-group conversational partner dropped [h] in *all* unstressed personal pronouns. However, unlike the first speaker, he retained [h] on the stressed ‘hard’.

A similar pattern to that of the younger WC males is repeated in the older WC male group, although they show 10% fewer instances of [Ø] than their younger counterparts. Such use of [Ø] for the WC males (54% (younger) and 43% (older)) is in contrast to the older female working-class speakers whose percentage of 18% is closer to that found in the middle-class results.

The middle-class speakers' overall rate of 16% for [Ø] is half as much as that of the working-class (32.1%). Within the MC speaker group, there is little loss of (h) in word-initial position in old and young age groups. Similarity is seen in the MC younger males and MC younger female groups: these two groups drop and retain exactly the same amount of tokens (7 - [Ø]) and 21 - [h] respectively). The older MC counterparts produce more instances of [h] than the younger speakers (93% in both older groups against 75% in younger groups). Thus, there are clear differences between working-class and middle-class speakers treatment of word-initial (h) in this formal condition.

Given the statistical significance of age, figure 5.3.1 also highlights that loss of word-initial (h) ([Ø]) in formal style is higher within the younger speakers of Darlington English. With the exception of the older WC male group, it is the older speakers who retain more instances of (h) in the reading passage style. Four speakers within the older speaker groups retain all (h)-initial tokens, with eight of the older speakers dropping one token only. A comparison between old and young percentage totals in the two groups is an indication of this: whilst the younger informants show a 35.7% loss of [h], the older speakers display almost half that (18.75%)⁹⁰.

5.3.2 Overall distribution of variants of (h): Free Conversation

The following section deals with the findings across all three extra-linguistic variables for word-initial (h) in free conversation style, covering (a) unstressed auxiliaries, (b) unstressed pronouns and (c) stressed items.

⁹⁰ Although different lexical categories, lexical items such as 'he' and 'hard' were grouped together in the results.

Table 5.3.3: Overall distribution of (h) in free conversational style

Free Conversation		[h]		[Ø]	
Total Tokens	2504	n. 1212	% 48.4	n. 1292	% 51.6

Table 5.3.3 above incorporates all three lexical categories (unstressed pronouns and auxiliaries and stressed nouns) across the 32 speakers by age, sex and social class. Table 5.3.4 shows the token distribution for overall (h) use by speaker group, whilst figure 5.3.2 shows the percentage distribution of these figures:

Table 5.3.4: Token distribution of [h, Ø] by speaker group – overall FC

Group	[h]	[Ø]	Total
WCYM	31	288	319
WCOM	111	211	322
WCYF	121	207	328
WCOF	104	204	308
MCYM	159	139	298
MCOM	213	92	305
MCYF	232	79	311
MCOF	241	72	313

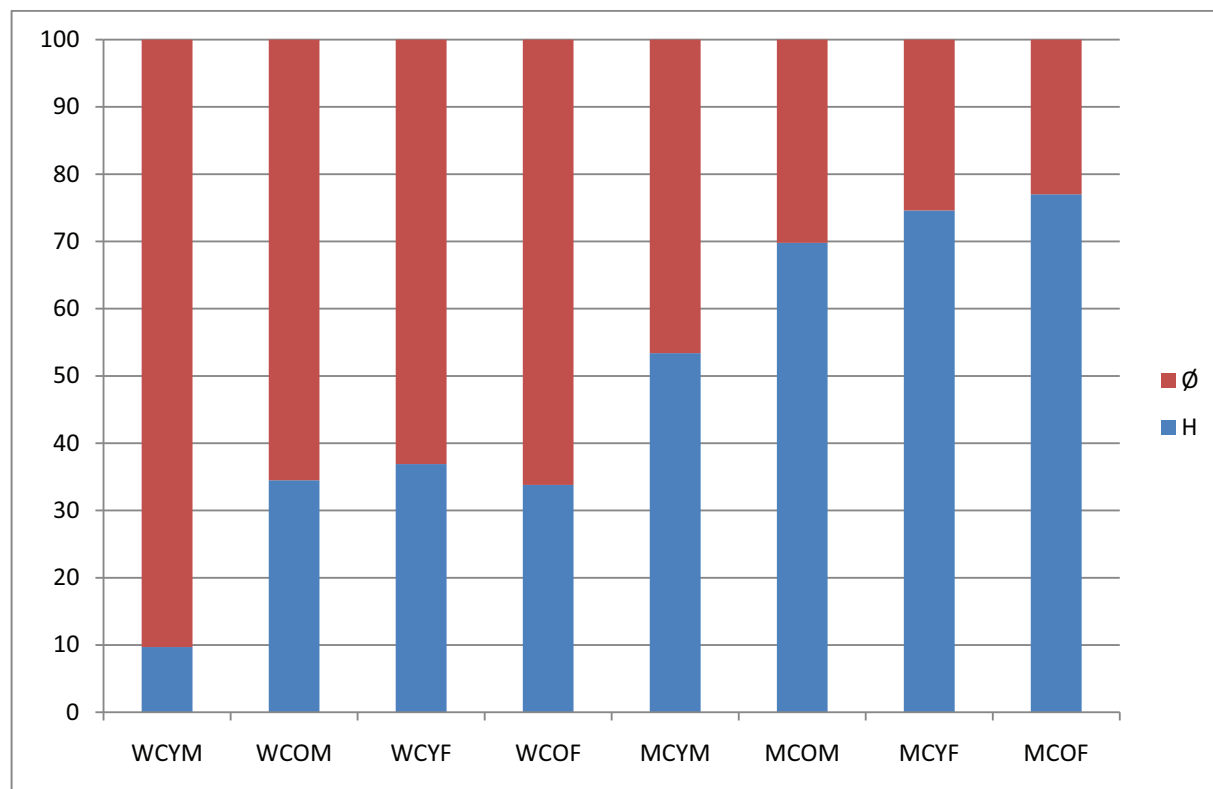
Figure 5.3.2: Overall percentage distribution of [h,Ø] in informal style: FC (%)

Table 5.3.4 highlights that, if only marginally, [Ø] is used more frequently in free conversation than [h] in word-initial position ([Ø]: 51.6%, [h]: 48.4%). Results based on the data found in table 5.3.4 and figure 5.3.2 show that *all three* intra-community variables are significant ('class': $p < .0001$; sex: $p < .005$; age: $p < .0001$) when implementing log-linear statistical tests. When calculating the significance for the interaction of all three variables, this proved also to be significant ($p = 0.004$).

Figure 5.3.2 highlights the significance of 'class', given the high productions of [Ø] in the WC speaker groups against the lower amounts in the MC. Within the WC speakers, eleven of the sixteen speakers drop (h) in word-initial position more than 50% of the time. This compares to that of the middle-class speakers who all show less than 50% (h) loss (with the exception of one MC younger male).

From figure 5.3.2, it is obvious that the group producing least instances of [h] is the WC younger males. With 288 instances of the dropped variant [Ø] in working class young male speech (from their total of 319 word-initial (h) tokens), it is interesting to note that this comprises almost a quarter (22.3%) of the total Darlington English use of [Ø] in the free conversation.

Conversely, it is the MC older females who produce [h] most consistently in word-initial (h) lexical items. The overall (h) drop rate ([Ø]) of 25.4% in the MC older females is almost 65% less than that of the WC young males. This may possibly be the basis of the sex effect evident in the statistical significance for this external social variable.

5.3.3 Overall distribution of tokens: unstressed personal pronouns⁹¹

The following section outlines the findings across all eight speaker groups for unstressed personal pronouns where (h) is in a foot-initial unstressed position. The results are presented in table 5.3.5.

Table 5.3.5: Distribution of [h/Ø] in unstressed personal pronouns: FC style

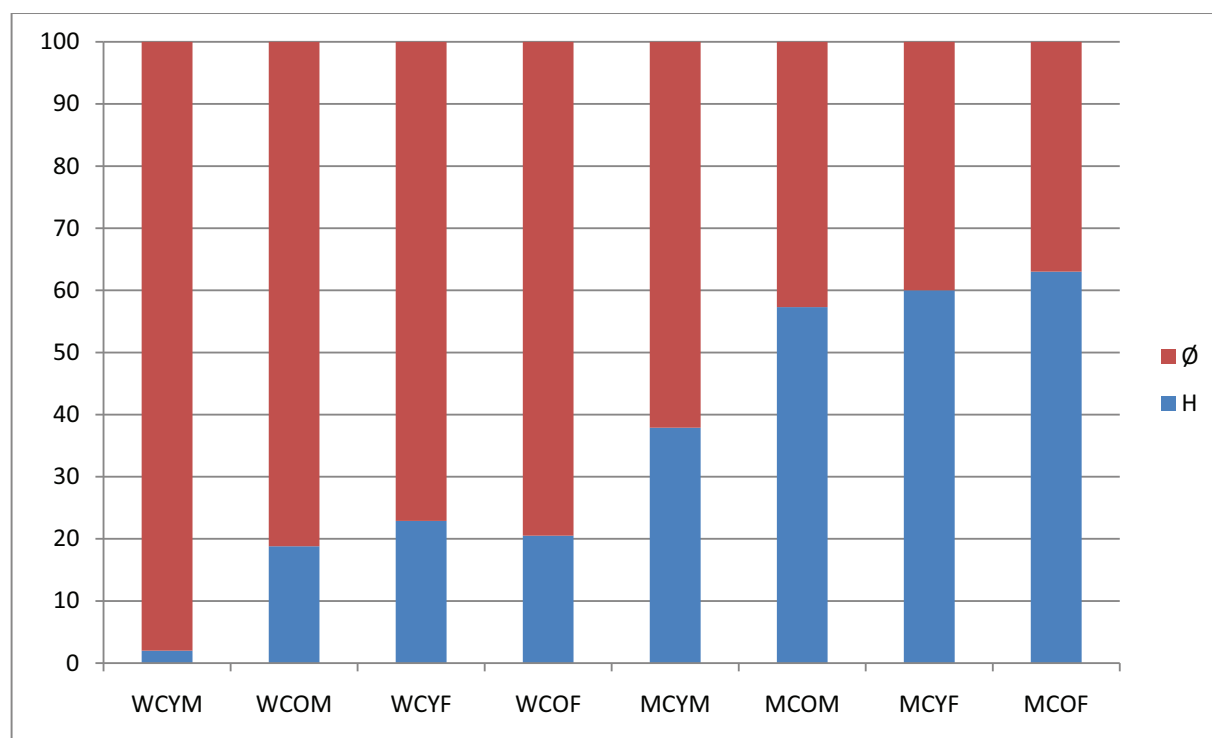
Free Conversation		[h]		[Ø]	
Total Tokens	1510	n. 524	% 34.7	n. 986	% 65.3

This section examines the age, sex and social ‘class’ differences of [h] production within unstressed personal pronoun use by the Darlington English speakers. Table 5.3.6 and figure 5.3.3 highlight the distribution of [h] and [Ø] across all eight speaker groups produced in word-initial position within unstressed personal pronouns:

⁹¹ Bell and Holmes (1997) denote unstressed pronouns/auxiliaries as not being indicative of H-dropping, given the frequency of the tokens. However, high-frequency h-ful tokens are being used in a concurrent study (Burbano-Elizondo (2008)) in Sunderland – the comparison between findings of this and the present study will prove invaluable.

Table 5.3.6: Distribution of [h,Ø] across speaker groups for unstressed personal pronouns in FC

Group	[h]	[Ø]
WCYM	3	188
WCOM	37	160
WCYF	47	158
WCOF	38	148
MCYM	69	113
MCOM	103	77
MCYF	108	72
MCOF	119	70

Figure 5.3.3: Distribution of [h/Ø] in unstressed personal pronouns: FC style (%)

In comparison to the overall distribution in free conversation (5.3.2), there is a greater distribution of the dropped variant [Ø] in the production of unstressed personal pronouns than in the overall category. The dropped variant [Ø] is used almost twice as much as that of the retained token. According to Tollfree (1999), this is to be expected, given the lack of stress on high-frequency words in continuous speech such as ‘him’, ‘her’, ‘his’, ‘he’, ‘he’s’ which would lead to loss of [h] in word-initial position. In terms of overall effect, all three extra-linguistic variables are statistically significant (age: $p = .002$; sex: $p < .035$), with ‘class’ also being significant ($p < .0001$).

In regard to ‘class’, the statistical significance is evidently due to the low use of [h] by WC Darlington English speakers in comparison to the higher use of the variant by the MC speakers. Similarly with the overall word-initial (h) results (cf. 5.3.2), eleven of the sixteen working-class speakers produce 75% or more of the ‘dropped’ variant [Ø]. By contrast, only four middle-class speakers produce over 50% of this variant, three of which are found in the young male group.

Indeed, the younger males are the only group within the MC whose production of [h] is lower than that of [Ø].

Sex and age, although statistically significant, show reasonably small differences between young/old and male/female groups. The rate of [h] use, for males (28.27%) shows only a 12.83% difference to that of female use (41.1%). In terms of age, [h] is lower for young speakers (29.7%) than that of older speakers (42.4%).

The following section outlines the distribution of word-initial (h) in unstressed auxiliaries.

5.3.4 Overall distribution of [h/Ø]: unstressed auxiliaries

The main difference between the overall distribution of (h) in word initial position in unstressed auxiliaries and personal pronouns is the significantly higher use of [h] rather than [Ø] by DE speakers for unstressed auxiliaries. This factor is evident in the 66.3% rate of [h] seen in table 5.3.7, incorporating 456 [h] tokens from the total of 688 word-initial (h) tokens collated.

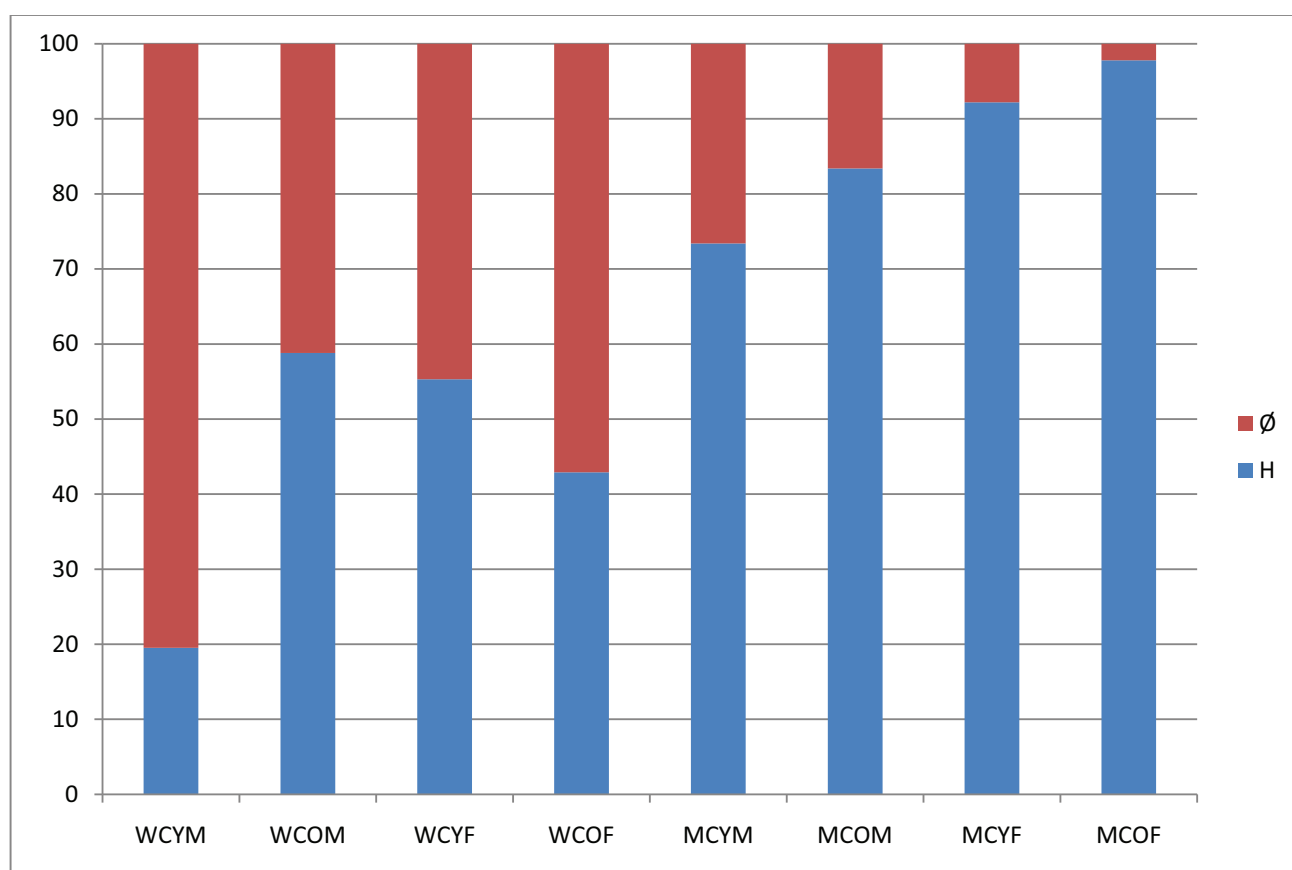
Table 5.3.7: Distribution of word-initial (h) in unstressed auxiliaries

TOTAL TOKENS	[h]		[Ø]	
	n.	%	n.	%
688	456	66.3	232	33.7

Table 5.3.8 and figure 5.3.4 show the overall results by speaker group for the distribution of word-initial (h) in unstressed auxiliaries:

Table 5.3.8: Distribution of [h,Ø] across speaker groups for unstressed auxiliaries in FC

Group	[h]	[Ø]
WCYM	16	66
WCOM	50	35
WCYF	47	38
WCOF	36	48
MCYM	58	21
MCOM	75	15
MCYF	84	7
MCOF	90	2

Figure 5.3.4: Distribution of [h/Ø] in unstressed auxiliaries: FC style (%)

Again, as with the overall results for word initial (h) in the unstressed personal pronouns, ‘class’ is seen to be highly significant ($p < .0001$) in terms of the overall effect on the unstressed auxiliaries results. As with the unstressed personal pronouns, log-linear results reveal age ($p < .021$) and sex ($p < .0001$) to be significant. The effect of ‘class’ on the results is plausibly due to the high use of [h] and low use of [Ø] in the MC speaker groups: indeed, it is clear from table 5.3.9 that the MC produce only 44 instances of [Ø] (18.9% of the total for [Ø] in this lexical context). In comparison, working-class speakers use [Ø] for 58.4% of the total (h) tokens. Thus, there is a significant difference within the social classes. As regards working class speakers, it is the older males who have the lowest percentage drop rate of the four groups (41.2%), 3.5% lower than that of the younger females (44.7%). With 80.48%, the younger males are, by over 20%, the group who ‘drop’ [h] most frequently. As with the overall (h) findings outlined in 5.3.1, there is a great deal of variability in the working class older female group, with one speaker not producing [Ø] at all, a feature more indicative of MC Darlington English usage. In the younger WC female speaker group, speakers 2 and 3 use [Ø] 19 and 12 times, whereas the two remaining speakers (1 and 4) use [Ø] only twice, preferring [h] 19 and 13 times. Speakers 1 and 4 in this group more closely resemble the usage found in the middle class speaker groups. In contrast to the 47.3% and 57.1% found in the working-class females, middle-class female speakers exhibit 7.8% (MCYF) and 2.2% (MCOF) use of [Ø]. In relation to male use, significantly lower percentage drop rate averages are realised by middle-class males than working class males (21.3% and 60.5% respectively).

From the overall perspective of sex, both male and female speakers are fairly distinct in regard to (h)-loss in unstressed auxiliaries. Female speakers ‘drop’ [h] 15% less than that of the males (26.9% and 41.9% respectively). The high rate of [h] loss in male DE speech is most likely to have resulted from the 81.48% ‘loss’ in the WC younger male speaker group. Similarly, the 26.9% drop rate of female speakers has been significantly influenced downwards by both middle class female groups’ use and upwards by the older female working class speakers with an overall difference between the two groups’ percentage drop rates of 54.9%.

In terms of age in relation to [Ø], a similar percentage difference to that found in both sex groups is realised between young (39.2% - 132/337 tokens) and old speakers (28.5% - 100/351 tokens).

The prevalence of [Ø] within (h)-initial unstressed auxiliaries in WC young male speech is, once again, in contrast to that of the MC older females, evident in the very different results for each group seen in figure 5.3.6. Only two tokens were dropped by the MC older females (both by the same speaker), whilst the remaining 90 tokens were retained. The opposite of this is found in the WC younger males, where one speaker drops (h) ([Ø]) for the total of his twenty-four tokens, retaining none: this is the only case in which this occurs across the entirety of the auxiliary data set.

The following section outlines the distribution of [h] and [Ø] in word initial position for stressed items.

5.3.5 Overall distribution of [h,Ø]: stressed items

In comparison to the two earlier word-initial (h) lexical categories, loss of [h] in stressed items is significantly less. Given the nature of the context in which the tokens were taken, the difference in drop rate is not surprising.

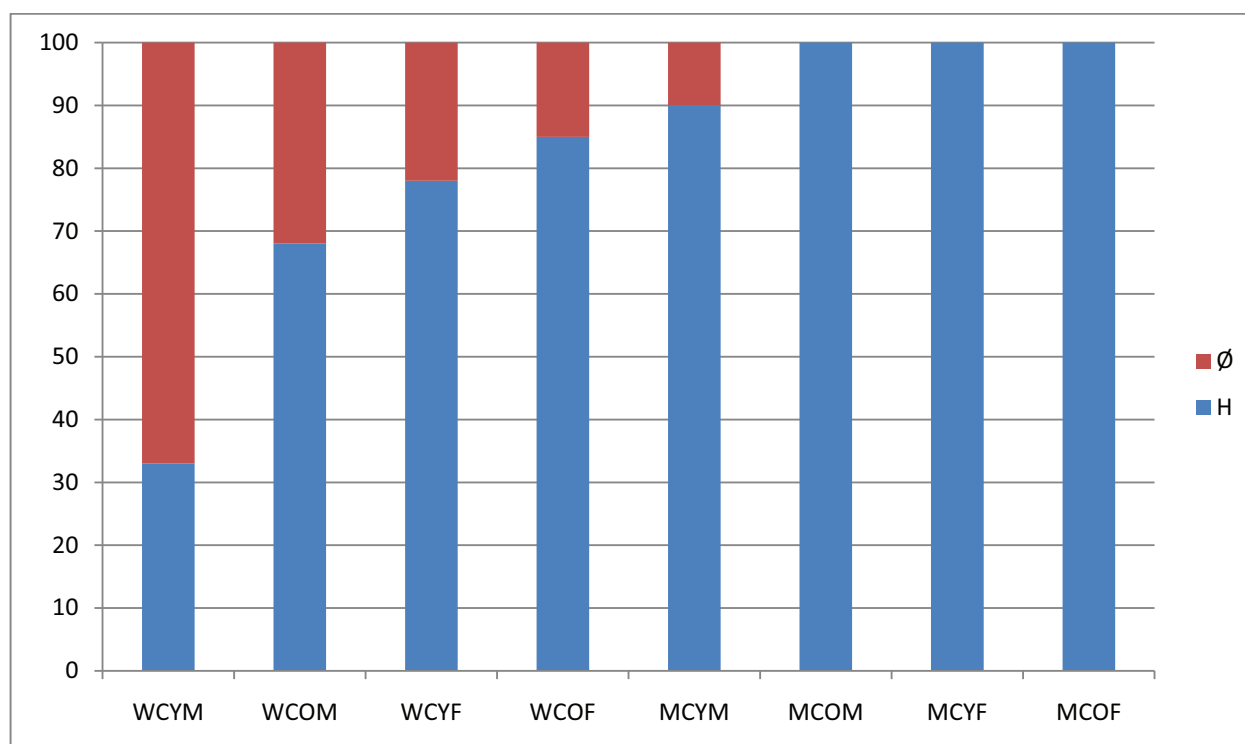
Table 5.3.9: Overall distribution of [h,Ø] in stressed items

TOTAL TOKENS	[h]		[Ø]	
	n.	%	n.	%
306	232	75.8	74	24.2

Loss of word-initial (h) on stressed items is seen by many linguists as being stigmatised within speech in English and has been commented upon thoroughly in the sociolinguistic literature (cf. Trudgill 1972, Milroy 1983, cf. also Bell and Holmes 1997 in New Zealand English). Table 5.3.10 gives speaker group token distributions, whilst figure 5.3.5 gives percentage figures for this data:

Table 5.3.10: Token distribution of [h/Ø] in stressed items: FC style

Group	[h]	[Ø]
WCYM	12	34
WCOM	24	16
WCYF	27	11
WCOF	30	8
MCYM	32	5
MCOM	35	0
MCYF	40	0
MCOF	32	0

Figure 5.3.5: Distribution of [h/Ø] in stressed items: FC style (%)

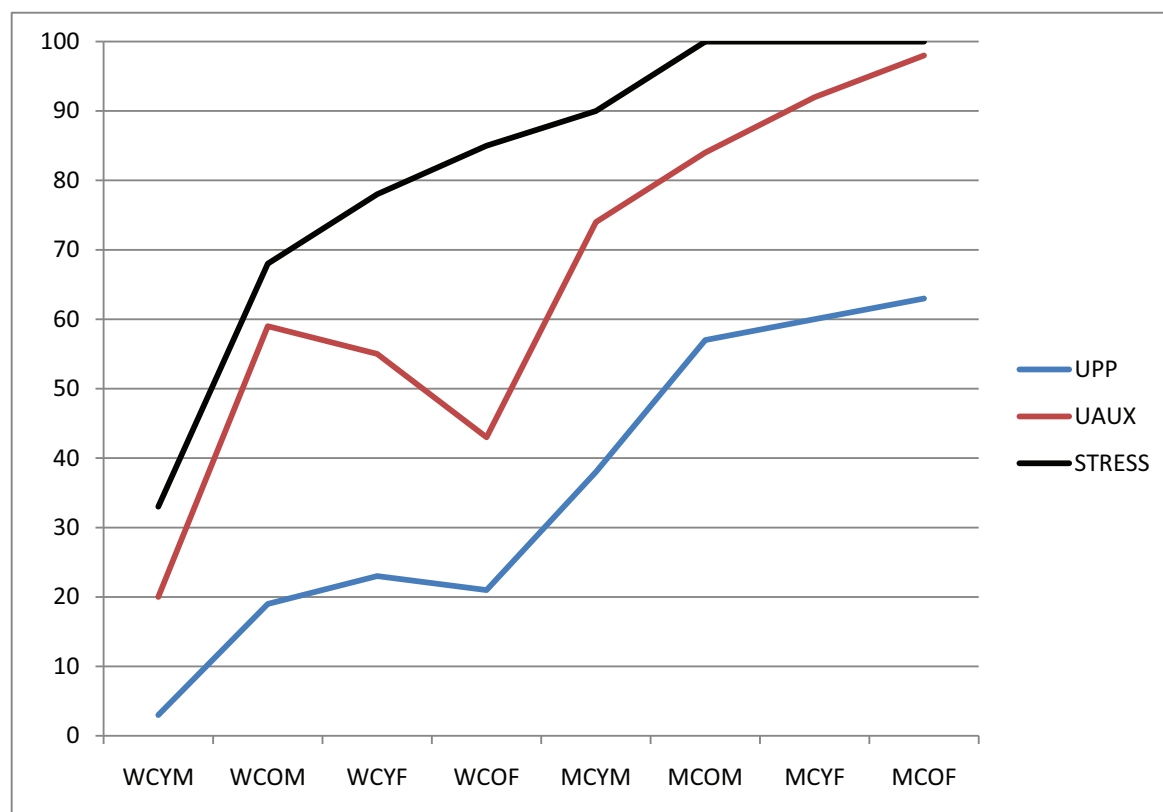
From the overall results for word-initial (h) stressed items, ‘class’, as was the case with the unstressed categories, is again a highly significant effect. This ‘class’ effect is apparent given the paucity of [Ø] use in the MC. From the total of 74 [Ø] tokens found in the data, only five were used by middle-class speakers. These tokens were found in the middle class younger male speaker group.

The 35.5% overall working class drop-rate percentage (131 tokens of [h], 72 [Ø] tokens) is in contrast to that of the 1.9% drop rate of the middle class (101 tokens of [h], 2 [Ø] tokens in stressed nouns). Three of the four middle class groups, the exception being the younger males, produce *only* [h] tokens for the stressed items. Such a feature does not occur in working class speech, although three groups show a relatively low percentage (32.7% in older males, 22.85% in younger females and 15.3% in older female speaker groups). Although the overall drop rates are low compared with the results in other word initial (h) sets, such figures are to be expected given the primary stress assigned to this specific lexical item category (stressed items).

As with the results found in other (h)-initial word forms, it is the younger WC males who are the group showing the greatest amount of (h)-loss in stressed items. It is surely due to the high frequency of [Ø] in the working class male speakers that the male average drop rate is 34.8% (103 [h] against 55 [Ø] tokens).

5.3.6 Comparison of [h] across the three lexical environments

From figure 5.3.6, what is evident is the similarity between both the unstressed personal pronouns and the unstressed auxiliaries for [h] use across the speaker groups.

Figure 5.3.6: Use of [h] in three lexical environments in FC style (%)

Clearly, the unstressed personal pronoun use of [h] is lower than that of the unstressed auxiliaries and, in turn, the use of [h] is most prolific in stressed items. The figure also highlights the fact that the WC younger males are the group who produce [h] the least: this is in direct contrast to the MC older females.

The following section outlines the difference in distribution of [h] across both formal and informal styles.

5.3.7 Style differences for word initial (h)

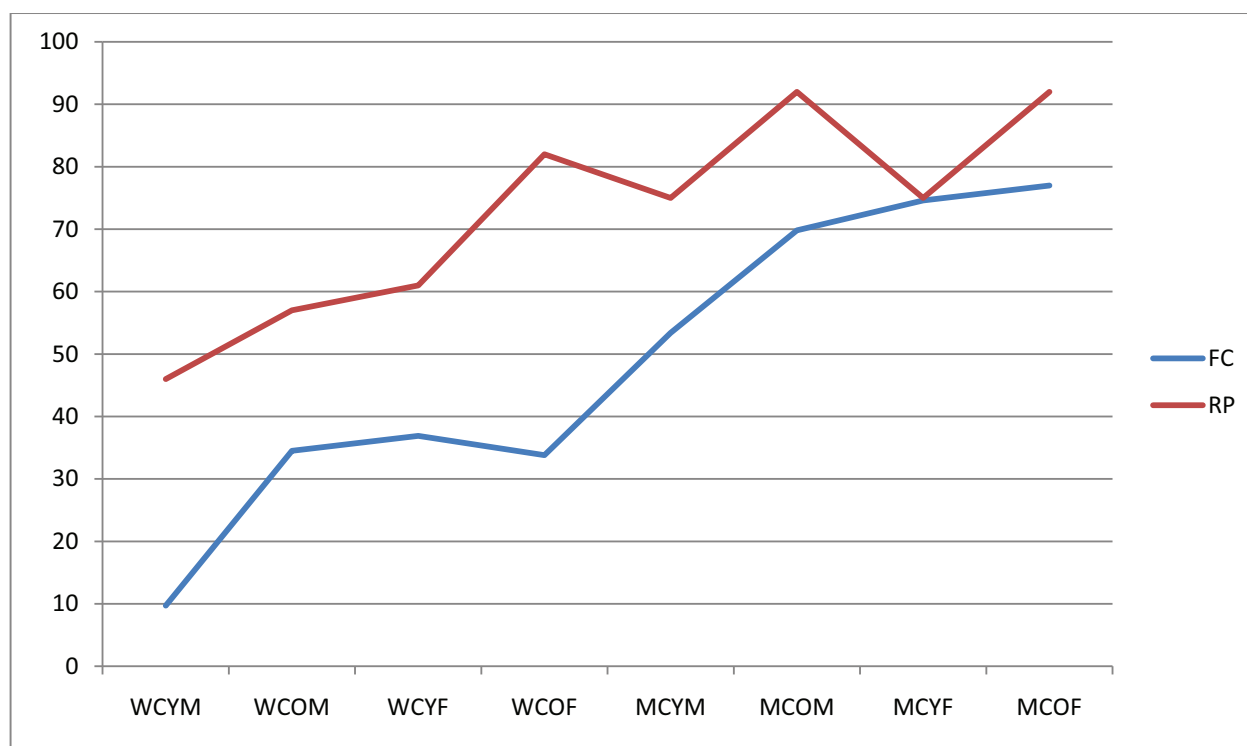
As with the corresponding sections for both vocalic variables (5.1 and 5.2), the following section outlines the differences in style in word-initial (h) use from the corpus of DE speakers. Table

5.3.11 contrasts the differences between the distribution of [h] and [Ø] for word-initial (h) in the reading passage (RP) and overall free conversation:

Table 5.3.11: Style differences of word-initial (h)

	Total tokens	[h]	[Ø]
Reading Passage	224	163 (72.8%)	61 (27.2%)
Free Conversation	2504	1212 (48.4%)	1292 (51.6%)

A rise in [Ø] use from formal to informal conditions is evident. From the total absence of [Ø] in the reading word-list, there is loss in the reading passage (27.2%: 61 of 224 (h) tokens). This is emphasised by results found in the free conversation data. From a total of 2504 tokens within the conversational data, informants dropped a total of 1292 tokens of [h], giving a 51.6% drop rate. This pattern of loss may be expected given the levels of formality: little or no loss in formal ‘careful’ conditions, with higher levels of loss in informal speech. Figure 5.3.6 contrasts the styles of the reading passage (RP) and overall free conversation word-initial (h) by speaker group:

Figure 5.3.7: Style differences: [h] in reading passage and FC⁹²

In figure 5.3.6, one interesting point when comparing both style lines is the similarity in distribution in the MC younger female speaker group, given the 0.4% difference between formal use (75%) and the free conversation (74.6%). Given the remainder of the results, with the distribution of [h] higher in free conversation than in the reading passage, the results for both styles in the MC younger females is interesting.

On the whole however, the occurrence of [h] is much higher in formal style than in informal FC style. Statistical results using a Pearson correlation coefficient show a relationship between the distribution in formal and informal use of [h]. The *r* value of 0.837 (with $p < .005$) shows that there is a relationship between both lines. The greatest differences between style-lines however are seen in two WC groups: those of the younger males and the older females. The older females (82% in the reading passage and 38.2% in the FC) show a 43.8% difference whilst their younger

⁹² It must be stated that [h] token totals per group in FC were very high (average 370) against that of the 28 tokens in the RP for each group.

speaking male counterparts (46% in the reading passage and 9.7% in FC) show a 36.3% difference. The latter group (WC younger males) is also the group with the least retention of [h] in both styles.

For the group producing the most instances of [h] across both styles, the MC older females, show a difference of 15% separating (h)-loss across the two conditions. From the total of 28 tokens within the formal reading passage this speaker group dropped [h] on only two unstressed personal pronouns. In addition to this, 70 of the total of 72 [Ø] tokens produced by the MC older females in the free conversational data were unstressed personal pronouns, leaving only two instances of unstressed auxiliaries. There were *no* instances in which MC older females dropped [h] when producing a stressed item.

In summary, all groups produced a higher level of loss of word-initial (h - [Ø]) in an informal context (FC) as against a formal situation (reading passage). The group showing the closest distribution of [h] in both styles was the MC younger females, whilst the group with the least closeness in distribution were the WC older females.

The following section outlines the results for (t) in word-final position.

5.4.0 Variants of (t)

It will be remembered from the discussion in 4.3.3 that, on the basis of the pilot study, five variants of (t) in DE were identified for further study. These are:

- [t] – fully released voiceless alveolar stop
- [□] – glottal stop
- [ɹ] – post-alveolar environment
- [d] – voiced /t/
- [□t] – glottallised /t/

Sections 5.4 and 5.5 examine these five variants within four discoursal environments of pre-pausal, turn-final, word-final pre-vocalic and word medial intervocalic.

5.4.1 (t)-word final

The next section investigates (t) in word-final position. For the purposes of the present study, word final (t) is separated into three environments: pre-pausal, turn final and word final pre-vocalic. It will be recalled that, as detailed in 4.4.2, the criteria for ‘pre-pausal (t)’, based on the categorisations from Sacks et al. (1974) and Watson (2002), was, “...any (t) found at the end of a phrase of connected speech produced by the same speaker, but not prior to any change of speech, i.e. before any initiation by a different speaker”. The production of (t) in pre-pausal position in formal style is now examined.

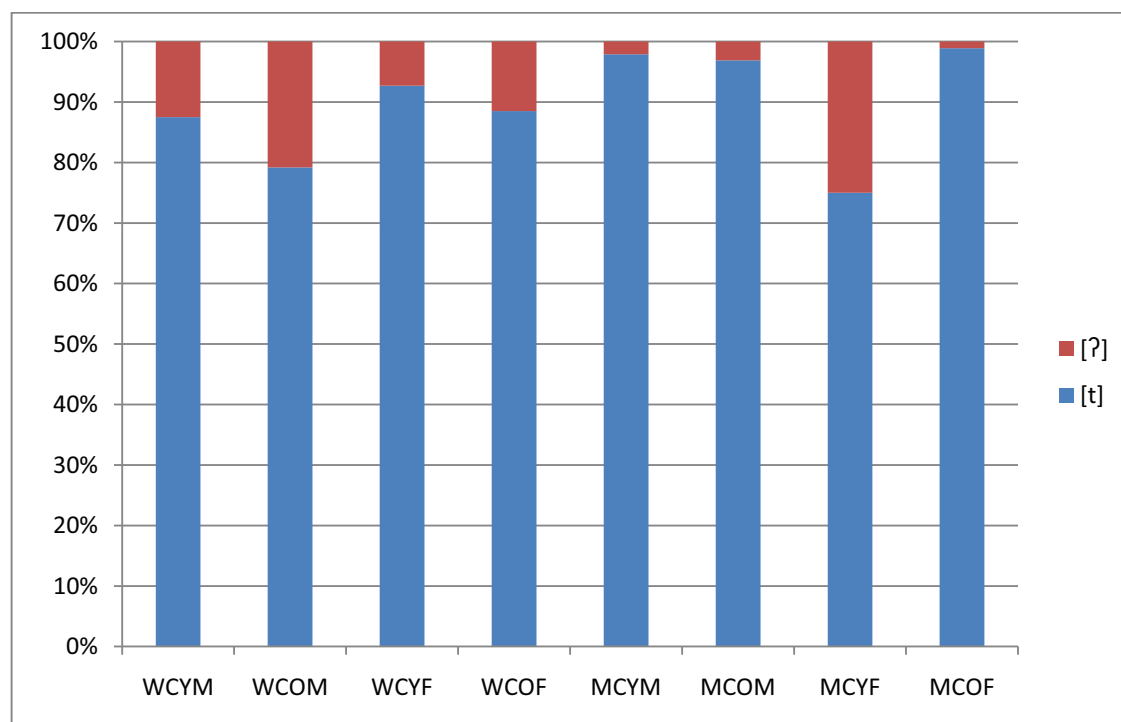
5.4.2 Formal style material for pre-pausal (t): overall distribution

Table 5.4.1 shows the overall distribution of pre-pausal (t) in the formal word-list style:

Table 5.4.1: Overall distribution of pre-pausal (t) in RWL style:

	[t]		[ʔ]	
Overall distribution: 768 tokens	688	89.6%	80	10.4%

Figure 5.4.1 below highlights the group use of (t) in formal style for each group. With 688 of the total of 768 tokens (89.6%), [t] is the preferred variant in DE formal style for pre-pausal (t). This is contrasted to the use of [t] in pre-pausal position in FC style (43.34%). With the high percentage of [t] in formal pre-pausal position, the use of [ʔ] is consequently low.

Figure 5.4.1: Distribution of (t) variants in pre-pausal position: RWL

This figure is considerably lower than that of 56.01% in free conversation style. This would suggest [ʔ] is therefore subject to style shifting. Both [d], [ʔt], as well as [ɹ] are not used in this position. The group using the least amount of [t] productions in RWL are the MC younger females (74%), whilst their older speaking counterparts produce most (78.9%).

5.4.3: Conversational material for pre-pausal (t): overall distribution

Table 5.4.2 shows the overall token distribution for (t) tokens in pre-pausal position for the five variants [t, ʔ, ɹ, d, ʔt]. It can be seen from the table 5.4.1, that the fifth Darlington English variant [ʔt] is not used in this position.

Table 5.4.2: Distribution of (t) tokens in pre-pausal position

	t		ʔ		ɹ		d		ʔt	
Tokens	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
n. 3015	1307	43.34	1689	56.01	2	0.07	17	0.58	0	0

The two variants [ɹ, d] are used minimally by DE speakers in this context: indeed [ɹ] is produced only twice in this position. Of the 17 tokens of voiced /t/ ([d]), over half (9/17) occur in the speech of the MC older females. The remaining two variants [t, ʔ] make up the majority (99.35%) of the distribution across all eight speaker groups. It can be seen that with a usage of 56.01%, the preference albeit very slight in Darlington English is to glottal (t) ([ʔ]) in pre-pausal position.

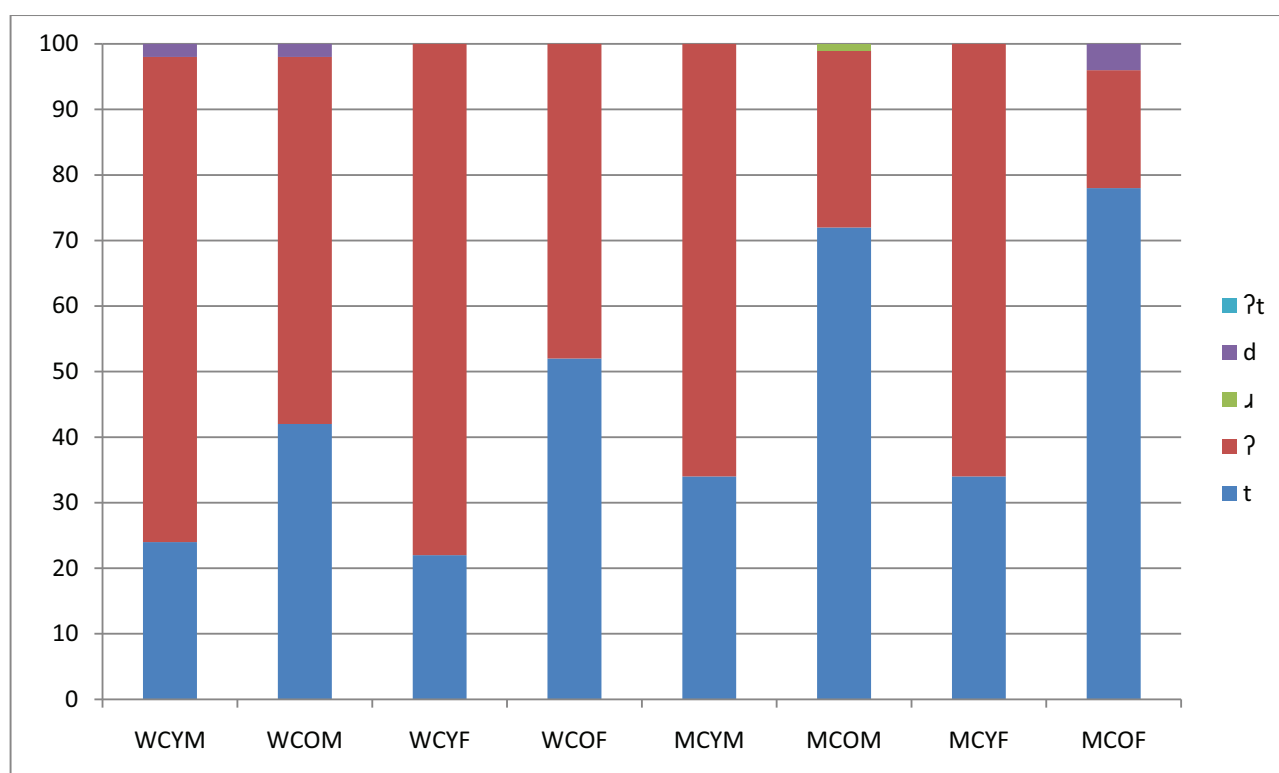
Table 5.4.3 highlights the distribution of (t) variants across all eight speaker groups:

Table 5.4.3: Token distribution of (t) variants in pre-pausal position: FC

Group	t	ʔ	ɹ	d	ʔt
WCYM	85	294	0	4	0
WCOM	155	203	0	4	0
WCYF	84	302	0	0	0
WCOF	192	187	0	0	0
MCYM	126	263	0	0	0
MCOM	259	118	2	0	0
MCYF	126	255	0	0	0
MCOF	280	67	0	9	0

Figure 5.4.2 replicates the figures in table 5.4.3 using percentage scores:

Figure 5.4.2: Distribution of (t) variants in pre-pausal position: FC (%)



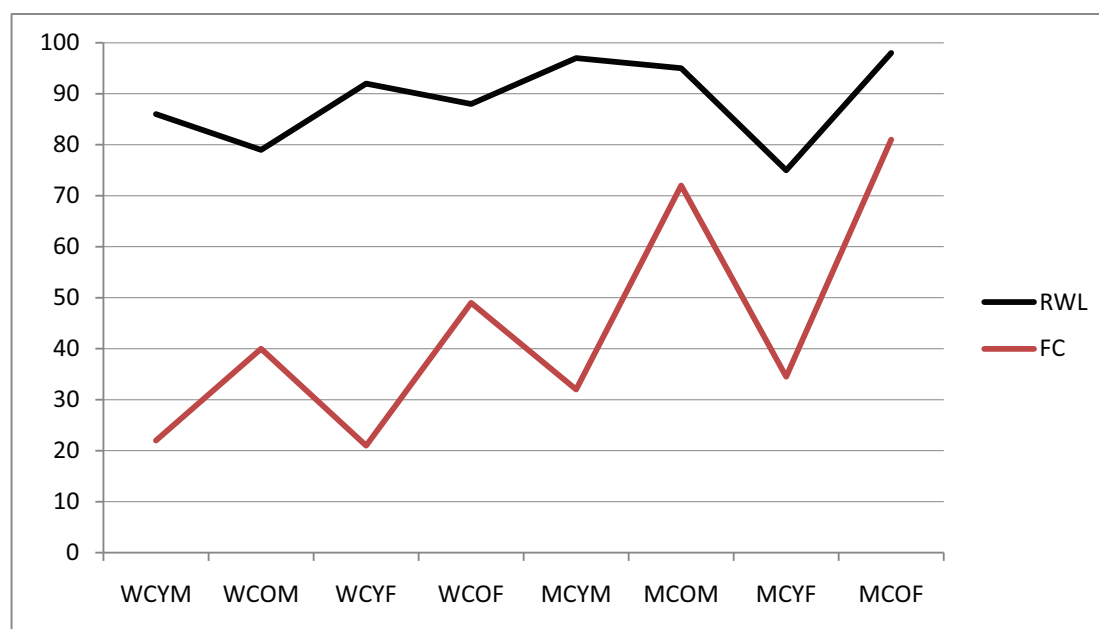
Log-linear model results highlight age as a significant extra-linguistic effect on the overall distribution of results for pre-pausal (t) ($p < .0001$). When combined with 'class' ('class'~age: $p < .005$) significance for the interaction is also achieved at the 5% level and is apparent when comparing distributions of [t] and [ʔ] for the MC older speakers against that of the WC younger speakers. Sex, given the general log-linear results is not significant ($p < .549$). It is clear that with 23.8% and 22.8% of use, it is the WC younger speakers who have the lowest use of fully released [t] in pre-pausal position. Indeed, it is the younger working class females who produce the lowest percentage of fully released [t] (22.8%).

The older age groups for the most part show a relatively high usage of the fully released [t] as opposed to the glottal [ʔ]. The group producing most instances of fully released [t] in pre-pausal position is the MC older females (79%). A similar usage of [t], albeit 7% less, is seen in the results for their male counterparts (MC older males – 72%). In the WC speaker group, the older females have the highest use of fully released [t] in the four WC groups with 51%. The older males producing 43% (a difference of 8% to the WC females) are the only older Darlington English age group not to use [t] more than 50% of the time in free conversation. Indeed, of the total of 1307 tokens of [t] in pre-pausal position, older DE speakers produce 891 tokens, over 68.4% of the total amount of tokens.

The glottal variant [ʔ] totals 1689 tokens (56.01% of the total token distribution). The highest producers of the glottal stop seen in figure 5.4.1 are the WC younger female speakers with 77.2%, with their male counterparts being the second highest producers with 74.7% use. The younger male speakers realise the highest use of [ʔ] in the MC with 66.6% whilst younger females use 65.2%. The lowest producers of [ʔ] are the older MC speakers (MC older females – 18.1% and MC older males – 27.6%).

5.4.4 Style differences for pre-pausal (t)

Figure 5.4.3 shows the style differences for [t] between RWL and FC style for the eight speaker groups. It is clear that both MC older speaker groups (males – 23% and females 16%) show the least differences between RWL and FC use for [t]:

Figure 5.4.3: Percentage differences of the [t] variant in pre-pausal position: RWL/FC

The group showing most differences across both styles are the WC younger females who use 22% of [t] in FC against 92% in FC style.

The following section outlines turn-final (t) in free conversation.

5.4.5 Conversational material for turn-final (t): overall distribution

The next variable elicited from the conversational material is turn-final (t). This variable is categorised as “the point at which a token of word-final (t) has been produced, immediately before a transition between the two speakers” (cf. 4.2). It is important to note that both pre-pausal and turn-final variables of word-final (t) have been documented in Middlesbrough English (Llamas 1998, 2001). Such an investigation in the present study allows the opportunity to compare and contrast DE with the neighbouring area of Middlesbrough in regard to the two linguistic variables. This comparison is assessed in 6.2.

Table 5.4.4: Distribution of (t) tokens in turn-final position

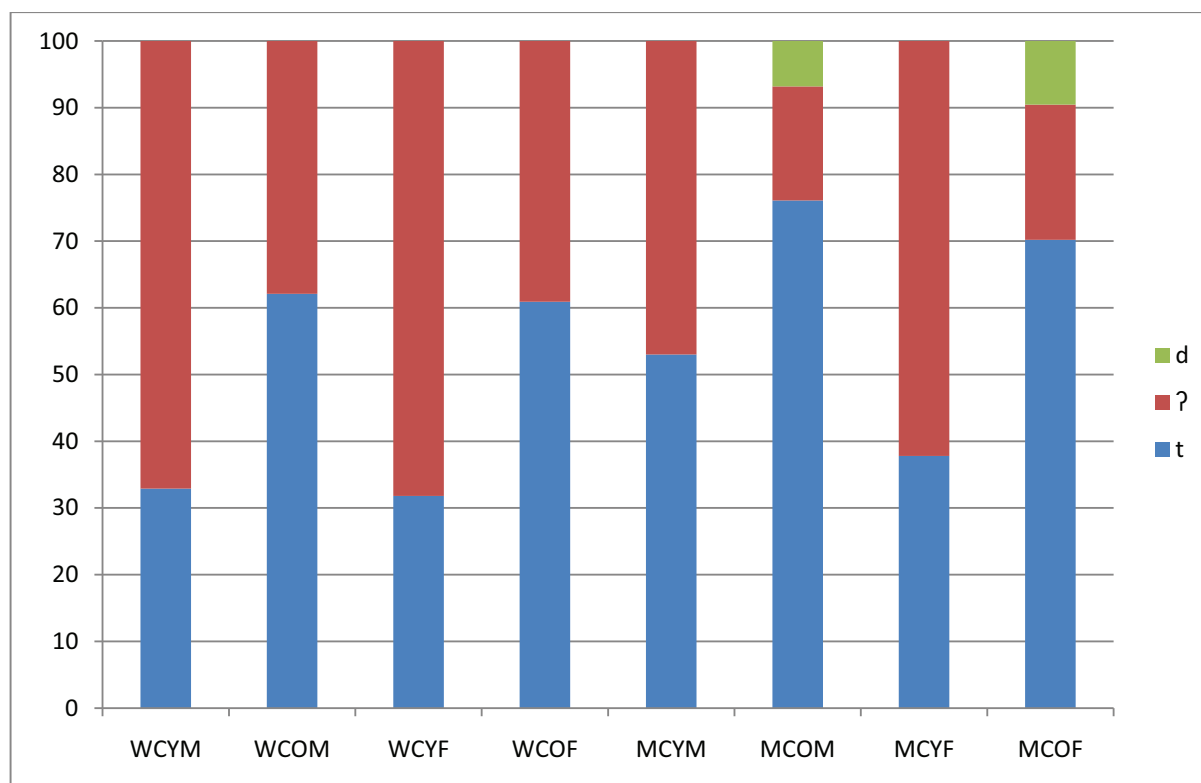
Token Total	[t]	[ʔ]	[ɹ]	[d]	[ʔt]
n. 655	351 (53.58%)	299 (45.64%)	0 (0%)	15 (2.29%)	0 (0%)

Table 5.4.4 shows that the variants [t, ʔ], which provided the majority of pre-pausal realisations do so again in turn-final position. As in pre-pausal, [ʔt] shows *no* usage. Of the remaining two variants [ɹ, d] only [d] is produced in turn-final position. The variant [ɹ], as with the glottalised variant ([ʔt]) is *not* produced in this environment. All 15 tokens of [d] are produced by the older MC speakers (5 tokens – MC older males; 10 tokens – MC older females). The following discussion, as with pre-pausal (t), consequently details the distribution of the two most frequently used (t) variants: fully released (t) ([t]) and glottal (t) ([ʔ]).

Table 5.4.5 displays the token distribution for all eight speaker groups in Darlington English for turn final (t). Figure 5.4.2 replicates these figures, giving percentage scores for each speaker group:

Table 5.4.5: Token distribution of (t) variants in turn-final position: FC

Group	[t]	[ʔ]	[ɹ]	[d]	[ʔt]
WCYM	28	57	0	0	0
WCOM	51	31	0	0	0
WCYF	27	58	0	0	0
WCOF	50	32	0	0	0
MCYM	44	39	0	0	0
MCOM	62	14	0	6	0
MCYF	31	51	0	0	0
MCOF	58	17	0	9	0

Figure 5.4.4: Distribution of (t) variants in turn-final position

As with pre-pausal (t), the statistical evidence shows age as being highly significant ($p < .0001$), whilst the remaining categories of ‘class’ ($p < .101$) and sex ($p < .529$) are not. The effect of age is highlighted in the high percentage peaks of [t] for both sets of older speakers in the middle class and to a lesser extent, in the working class. Results for fully released [t] in turn final position seem to mirror those in the pre-pausal results: high percentage ratios of use for both older male and female speech and lower use in the younger speakers.

The highest use of [t] in the DE results is seen in the MC older male speaker group (76.1%) whilst the MC older female use of the variant is lower (70.2%). As with [t] in pre-pausal position, the lowest production of [t] is present in WC younger male and female speakers (32.9% and 31.8%). Again, the lower percentage rate is seen not in the WC younger males, but in their female counterparts (as was seen in the pre-pausal data). The pattern of male use of fully released [t] is higher than that of the female speakers through the entirety of the results, although sex is not significant ($p < .529$).

The total of 299 tokens of the glottal variant [ʔ] at 45.64% of the overall distribution of (t) is a decrease from the 56.01% use of the same variant in pre-pausal position. For this variant, the group with the highest usage is the WC younger females (68.2%). In the MC this is also the case with the younger MC females producing 62.2% of the variant. In the working class, the older speakers produce significantly fewer realisations of [ʔ] than their younger counterparts (37.9% and 39.1%).

The following section deals with (t) in word final pre-vocalic position.

5.4.6 Conversational material for word final pre-vocalic (t): overall distribution

This particular environment was categorised as “(t) spanning two word boundaries when preceded and followed by a vowel” (cf. figure 4.4.3). The environment differs from intervocalic (t) (cf. 5.5) as the position of (t) is not word-medial, rather the context takes (t) in word-final position after a vowel and prior to a vowel in the following lexical item. Table 5.4.6 shows the overall distribution of word-final pre-vocalic (t) tokens:

Table 5.4.6: Distribution of (t) variants in word-final pre-vocalic position

Token Total	[t]	[ʔ]	[ɹ]	[d]	[ʔt]
n. 1633	695 (42.6%)	825 (50.5%)	37 (2.2%)	58 (3.6%)	18 (1.1%)

From table 5.4.6, it is clear that both the voiceless alveolar plosive [t] and the glottal [ʔ], as was the case with the two word-final categories of turn-final and pre-pausal positions, are the preferred variants amongst the DE speakers in word-final pre-vocalic position. With 50.5% of the total distribution (825 tokens), [ʔ] is the variant used most frequently by the DE subjects.

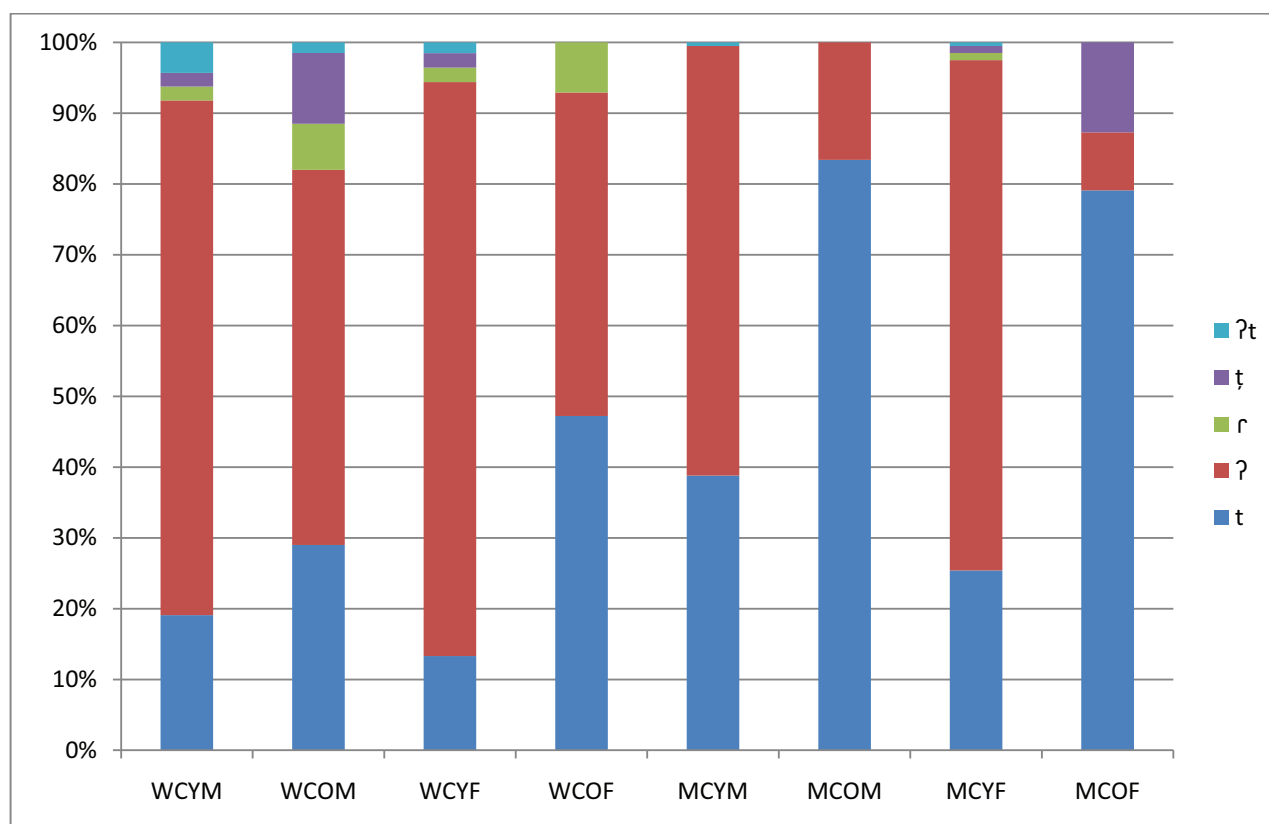
This was also the case with pre-pausal instances of [ʔ] (56.01%). In the case of fully-released [t], 695 tokens were recorded, whilst a total of 113 tokens were spread across the remaining three variants [ʔt d ɹ], with [ɹ] and [d] totalling 37 and 58 tokens respectively.

Table 5.3.7 and figure 5.4.5 show the distribution of the five variants across all eight speaker groups:

Table 5.4.7: Token distribution of (t) variants in word-final pre-vocalic position: FC

Group	[t]	[ʔ]	[ɹ]	[d]	[ʔt]
WCYM	38	149	4	4	10
WCOM	58	106	13	20	3
WCYF	26	159	4	4	3
WCOF	94	91	14	0	0
MCYM	78	122	0	0	1
MCOM	176	35	0	0	0
MCYF	51	145	2	2	1
MCOF	174	18	0	28	0

Figure 5.4.5: Distribution of (t) variants in word-final pre-vocalic position



As with the previous two categories of word-final (t), age has a strong effect on the overall results for word final pre-vocalic (t) ($p = .0001$). Similarly to pre-pausal and turn final (t), sex has no significant effect ($p = .826$), whilst ‘class’ does ($p = .005$). The two main variants [t] and [ʔ], show contrasting usage within the eight speaker groups, illustrated in figure 5.4.3. The groups producing most instances of [ʔ] are all young speakers, both working and middle class. Indeed, both younger female speaker groups specifically are the main users (WCYF – 81.1%, MCYF – 72.7%) as with turn-final (both groups).

Lower figures than these are seen in both groups’ male speaking counterparts, with the WC younger men using [ʔ] 72.7% of the time, with the middle class younger males using [ʔ] for 60.7% of their (t) realisations. The older MC males and females prefer [t], realising [ʔ] only 16.6% and 8.2% of the time. Unlike their MC counterparts, both older working class speaker groups show a relatively high percentage of usage of the glottal variant [ʔ], with males using 53.4% and females 45.7%.

Use of [t] in the younger WC groups was low with 13.3% (younger females) and 19.1% (younger males). This is contrasted by the 83.4% (older males) and 79.1% (older females) in the MC. When calculating an interaction between ‘class’ and age for word final pre-vocalic (t), log-linear results show significance ($p = .0001$): this underlines the contrast between young WC and older MC Darlington English speakers. The older working class speakers use [t] moderately (29% (male) and 47.2% (female)), which, coupled with the percentage use of [ʔ] (53.4% and 45.7%), suggests that such speakers have a greater spread across the remaining three peripheral variants [ʔ t d ɹ].

The word-final pre-vocalic environment is the only word final (t) environment in which activity across all five variants is seen. The use of the three variants [ʔ t d ɹ] is shown in figure 5.4.3 in groups such as the WC older males and younger females. In terms of production of [ɹ], there is

activity within five groups, four of which are working class, whilst the middle class younger females' use is very minimal (0.6% - 2 token)⁹³. It is the two older working class groups who produce 27 of the total of 37 tokens between them. The older WC males produce [ɹ] 6.5% of the time, whilst their female counterparts do so for 7.07% of their total (t) token production in word final pre-vowel environments.

Voiced 't' ([d]) is present across five speaker groups. There are no particular social patterns evident in the results, given the highest producers of this variant are the MC older females (12.7%), whilst the second highest producers are the WC older men (10%). Finally, [ɹt] shows no real patterns, although the WC younger males use 10 of the total of 18 tokens. Use in DE in this position is very much lower than that in Tyneside.

The following section details the fourth and final environment of (t): intervocalic (t)

5.5.0 (t) word medial intervocalic

The following section deals with variants of (t) in intervocalic positions. The variants of (t) as well as the environments in which it is investigated are detailed in 4.4. The effects of Darlington English speech on intervocalic (t) across the five variants in free conversation and three variants in formal word list style are investigated.

5.5.1 Word medial intervocalic (t)

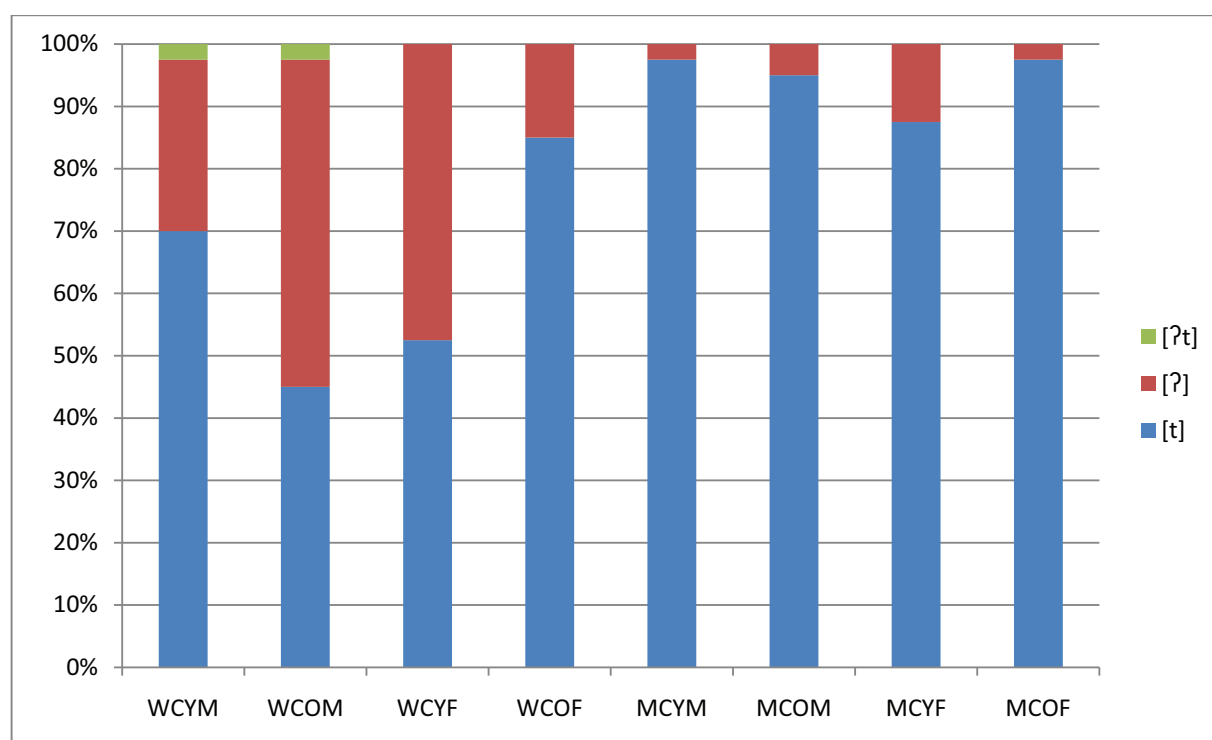
Table 5.5.1 shows the overall distribution of word medial intervocalic (t) in formal word list style:

⁹³ Generally, the lexical items in which [ɹ] occurred were 'better' and 'butter'.

Table 5.5.1: Distribution of (t) tokens in intervocalic position: RWL

	[t]		[ʔ]		[ʔt]	
Overall distribution: 320 tokens	254	79.4%	64	20%	2	0.6%

With 254 tokens from the total of 320 tokens (79.4%), [t] is the preferred variant in DE formal style for word-medial intervocalic (t). This figure is higher than that of 52.7% for [t] in free conversation. It is clear from figure 5.5.1 that [t] is higher in the MC than in WC speech. Indeed, 151 of the 254 tokens of [ʔ] (59.5%) were produced by the MC speakers. This in contrast to the 9 tokens of [ʔ] (14.1%) used by the MC speakers.

Figure 5.5.1: Distribution of three (t) variants in intervocalic position: RWL (%)

Fifty-five (55) tokens (85.9%) were used by WC speakers, in particular the older males and younger females. Two tokens of [ʔt] were produced both by WC male speakers.

5.5.2 Conversational material for word medial intervocalic (t): overall distribution in FC

Table 5.5.2 shows the overall distribution for (t) in intervocalic position. For the variants [ɹ] and [d], a total of only 12 tokens were elicited in the overall total of 785 by three groups: WC older speakers and the MC older males. The distribution of both variants is not described in depth in this section given the low distribution.

Table 5.5.2: Distribution of (t) tokens in intervocalic position

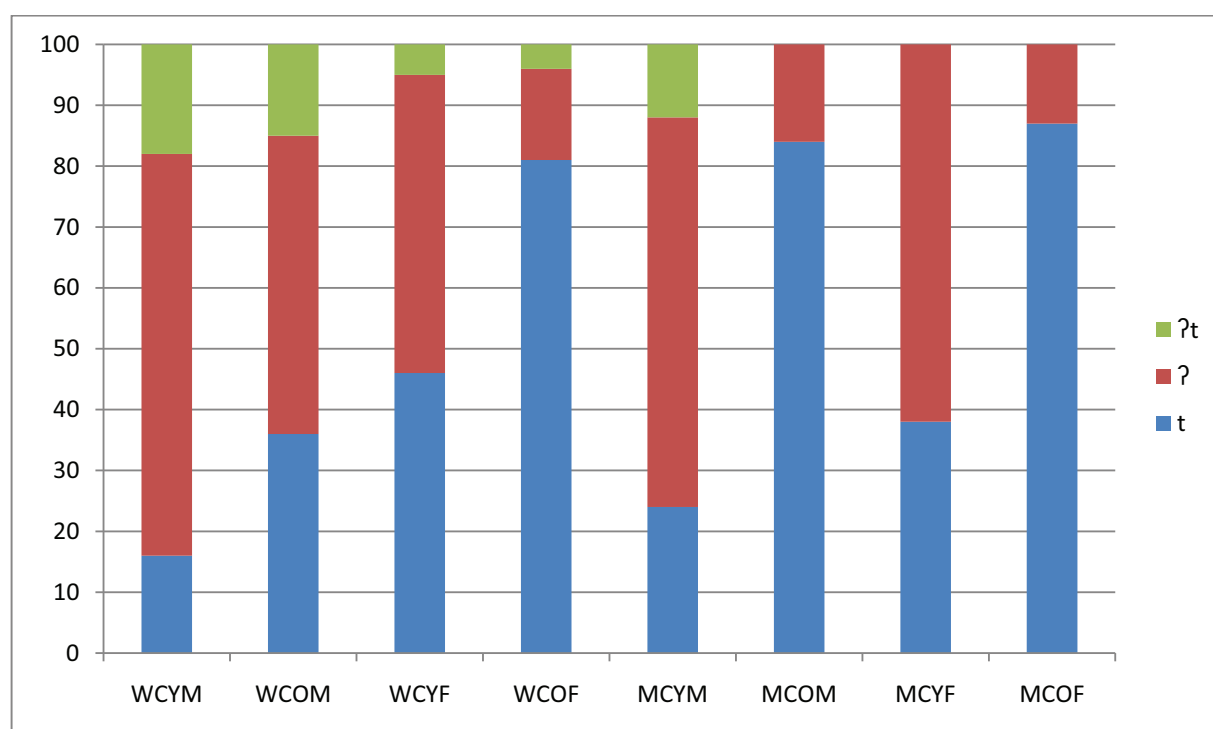
	[t]		[ʔ]		[ɹ]		[d]		[ʔt]	
Tokens	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
n. 785	414	52.7	314	40.0	0	0	0	0	57	7.3

The fully released variant [t] has the greatest percentage distribution of any of the other variants (52.7%); this is in opposition to that of 40% for the glottal [ʔ]. The final variant [ʔt] represents 7.3% usage by Darlington English speakers in intervocalic position.

Table 5.5.3 shows the distribution for the five variants across all eight subject groups. These figures are replicated using percentage figures in figure 5.5.2:

Table 5.5.3: Token distribution of (t) variants in intervocalic position: FC

Group	[t]	[ʔ]	[ɹ]	[d]	[ʔt]
WCYM	16	55	0	0	18
WCOM	37	41	0	0	15
WCYF	47	42	0	0	6
WCOF	84	12	0	0	4
MCYM	12	84	0	0	14
MCOM	38	52	0	0	0
MCYF	89	13	0	0	0
MCOF	91	15	0	0	0

Figure 5.5.2: Distribution of three (t) variants in intervocalic position: FC (%)

Age is again the main extra-linguistic effect influencing the data seen in table 5.5.3 and figure 5.5.2. The 'p' value of ($p < .0001$) for age is indicative of such an effect. 'Class' is also significant ($p < .040$): this is also the case when interacting with age ('class'~age: $p < .004$). For the first time in the (t) environments, sex is also significant statistically ($p < .035$), perhaps due to the high numbers of the glottal used by male speakers in DE (232 of the total 314 tokens (73.89%). The effect of age is seen in the high peaks for [ʔ] in the younger speakers and [t] for the old DE speakers. Overall, all four groups of younger Darlington English speakers produce the lowest token totals of fully released [t] in the total of the eight speaker groups. Indeed, the two lowest [t] producing groups are both younger male speakers (WC – 16% and MC – 25%).

The opposite pattern is found in the older speaker groups. Figure 5.5.2 shows three peaks within the eight columns. For fully released [t], three peaks are found in the older MC and older WC female speakers groups. All three groups produce over 80% of fully released [t] in intervocalic position. Older MC speaker groups produce 85% (male) and 86.6% (female), the highest of the three groups. However, it is the older WC females who, producing 80.4% of fully released [t], are the closest to the percentage rates used by their MC counterparts; over 35% more use than the second highest [t] producing WC group (the older males). The WC older males' use of [t] (45%) is comparable to their figures for the word final results (42.3% pre-pausal and 62.1% turn final). Given the high percentage rates in older speakers, and the subsequent lower ones from the younger speakers, use of the fully released [t] seems to be determined by age. Younger DE speakers provide 25.9% of fully released [t] in intervocalic position, compared with 74.1% by the older DE speakers.

The older speakers realise only 25.1% of [ʔ], whilst the younger speakers produce 74.9% of [ʔ]. Within the younger DE subjects, there is a similarity between WC and MC younger males, with both producing [ʔ] for almost two thirds (55 tokens (65.5%) - WC, 84 tokens (63.4%) – MC)) of their total tokens of (t) in intervocalic position. Both male groups are the highest glottal producing groups throughout the eight speaker groups. For the first time in the (t) data, a close similarity between WC and MC older female use of [ʔ] in intervocalic position is apparent: there is only a 2.2% difference between MC older females (15.7%) and the WC older females

(13.5%). The similarity between WC and MC older females is peculiar only to intervocalic position. At 49.1%, the older WC males' results seem to be closer to that of the younger speakers. Again, however, given the result above, high usage of [t] and low usage of [ʔ] in intervocalic position seems to be indicative of older speakers use. Such an influence of age is certainly reflected in the (t) results throughout.

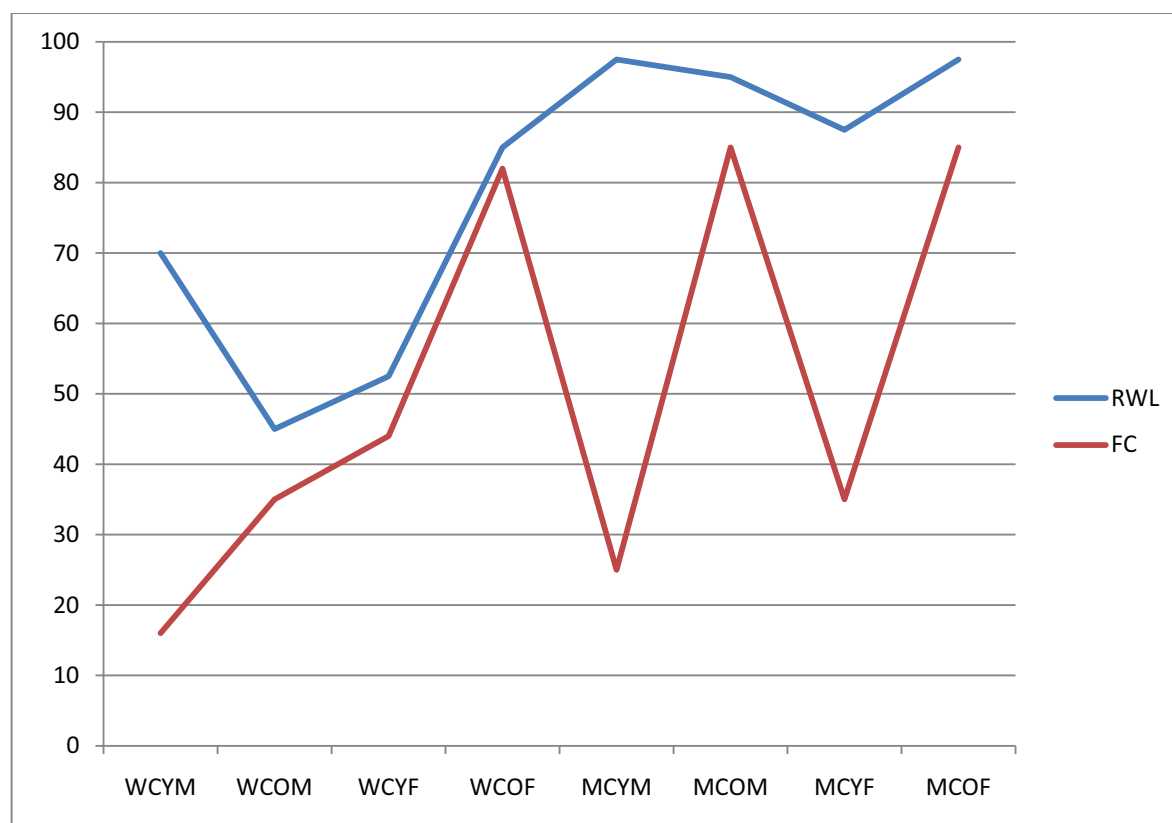
The final variant [ʔt] realises 57 tokens (7.3%). The groups which employ the variant are, with one exception, all working class. Of the middle class groups, only one group produces [ʔt].

These are the younger males whose [ʔt] production is 11.8% of their total variant usage. This figure is comparable to the two working class male speaker groups who produce 18.4% and 14.9% respectively, the two highest of the eight speaker groups. This is directly contrasted with the WC women, the younger speakers realising 5.9% and the older speakers 3.8%.

In conclusion, as with turn and pre-pausal (t) in FC style, intervocalic (t) in Darlington English is realised mainly by [t] and [ʔ]. However, unlike both word final environments, DE speakers, particularly working class speakers use glottalised (t) ([ʔt]) with more frequency.

5.5.3 Style differences for word medial intervocalic (t)

Figure 5.5.3 shows the style differences for [t] between RWL and FC style for the eight speaker groups:

Figure 5.5.3: Style differences for word medial intervocalic (t): [t]

Overall, there is a 26.7% difference in use of [t] between RWL (79.4%) and FC (52.7%). Glottal (t) [ʔ] also shows style differences (RWL 20% and FC 40%). It is clear that, as with pre-pausal (t) both older MC speaker groups show small differences for [t] in RWL and FC (males – 10% and females – 11%). In addition, three other groups show similar use for [t] in RWL and FC: these are all in the WC (females/older males). Interestingly, the group with the highest use of [t] in the RWL, the younger MC males (98%), show the most difference between styles (25% in FC – 73% difference). A similarly large difference is evident in the WC younger male group (54%) and the MC younger females (47%).

5.5.4 In summary

From the results examined in 5.4 and 5.5, two sets of variants realised by Darlington English (DE) speakers have been highlighted. The first is the more frequent variants of fully released [t] and glottal [ʔ], while [ɹ], [d] and [ʔt] are used less frequently. From the four environments in which (t) occurs (turn final, pre-pausal, intervocalic and word final pre-vocalic), the main variant of choice is [ʔ] with over half the usage at 50.8%. Use of [t] represents a total of 45.5%.

However, [t] is highest in both intervocalic and turn-final position, while [ʔ] proves to be higher in pre-pausal and word final pre-vocalic position. Of the variants, [ɹ], [d] and [ʔt], total only 3.8% of the overall (t) distribution. The main difference between DE variants and the variants typical of the North-East (those seen in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Middlesbrough), is the lack of the pre-aspirated ‘t’ [Ht] (Llamas 2001), or ‘extended frication’ (Allen (2001)). In addition, unlike Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Middlesbrough, use of [ʔt] is limited and not evident at all in certain linguistic environments.

5.6 Summary of results

The following section outlines the patterns evident in the data for both vocalic and consonantal variables in Darlington English. The patterns below explore each of the social factors and their affect upon the results for each of the variables in Darlington English.

The main findings for the vocalic variables of FACE and GOAT are assessed:

- working-class speakers use more instances of the monophthong [e:] than the MC speakers
- total use of [e:] is 62% making it the preferred variant in DE

- middle-class speakers produce more of the diphthong [eɪ] than the WC
- age also has an influence on monophthongal use – with older speakers using more [e:]
- the centring diphthong [eə] is produced less than 10% in overall FC use

For GOAT variants, ‘class’ is again a strong indicator of variant choice. In addition, sex plays a role in the use of less frequently used variants of GOAT in DE:

- working-class speakers use more instances of [o:] than MC speakers in both the FC and RWL
- middle-class speakers use more instances of [oʊ] than the WC in both the FC and RWL
- the back, rounded variant [ɔ:] is found only in WC male speech
- the centralised, unrounded variant [ɵ:] is used in the majority, by DE females

The results for word-initial (h) in all three lexical contexts as well as in overall condition, highlighted ‘class’ as the most significant in terms of effect on loss or retention of (h):

- in RWL, word-initial position is produced more in MC speech than in WC
- in formal conditions, only one group (WC younger males) produce more [Ø] than [h]
- in FC, [h] is used more in MC speech than in WC speech
- in unstressed personal pronouns, the WC younger males ‘drop’ [h] ([Ø]) 98% of the time
- in unstressed auxiliaries, all MC speakers use [h] more than [Ø]
- for stressed items, only the WC younger males use more instances of [Ø] than [h]: three MC groups retain [h] 100% of the time.

From the four conditions in which DE (t) use was surveyed, it was apparent that age was a significant indicator in the use of glottal /t/ ([ʔ]) and released [t]:

- In pre-pausal position, glottal /t/ [ʔ] (56.01%) is used more than [t]
- age is statistically highly significant, with younger speakers having higher use of [ʔ]
- MC older speakers use [t] more than any other speaker group
- In turn-final position, released [t] is used most frequently
- younger DE speakers all prefer [ʔ] with the exception of the MC younger males
- For word-final pre-vocalic (t), glottal /t/ [ʔ] (50.5%) is the preferred variant
- younger speakers prefer [ʔ] to [t] in word-final pre-vocalic position
- main users of [ɹ] are the older WC speakers
- In intervocalic position, released [t] is the most frequent variant (54.9%)
- males use [ʔ] more than [t] in intervocalic position
- glottalised /t/ [ʔt] is used mainly by WC males

The implications of the variation above are considered in Chapter 7. The following chapter outlines Darlington English speakers' attitudes towards the North-East and accent issues, discussing the results of the identity questionnaire outlined in 3.2.

CHAPTER SIX: IDENTITY AND LOCAL AFFILIATION IN DARLINGTON

6.0 Introduction to the structure of the chapter

The aims of this chapter are two-fold: first, section 6.1 reports the opinions of the Darlington English speakers elicited from the IdQ concerning local geographical affiliation and language use. Section 6.2 then assesses the extent of convergence and divergence in patterns of linguistic use between Darlington, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Watt (1998)) and Middlesbrough (Llamas (2001); Watt and Llamas (2004)), focusing on the variables that were analysed in the previous chapter. In addition, section 6.2 seeks to ‘map’ attitudinal data for both individual speakers and speaker groups specifically on to their linguistic use, examining whether a link exists between the two.

The following section outlines the findings of the IdQ. It posed eleven attitudinal questions (cf. 3.3.2). Initially, the answers discussed here address Darlington subjects’ perception of their own accent, before exploring their perceptions of Darlington’s ‘place’ within the North-East.

6.1.0 Quantification of qualitative data

In this section, the responses to seven of the eleven questions posed in the IDQ are quantified and reproduced graphically. In each graph, all eight speaker groups are shown. It will be remembered from the design of the study that each group consisted of four speakers. For the purposes of the IDQ graphs, any answer given by one speaker warranted 25%. Thus, four answers per group would give 100%, with the available choices shown in the graph legend.

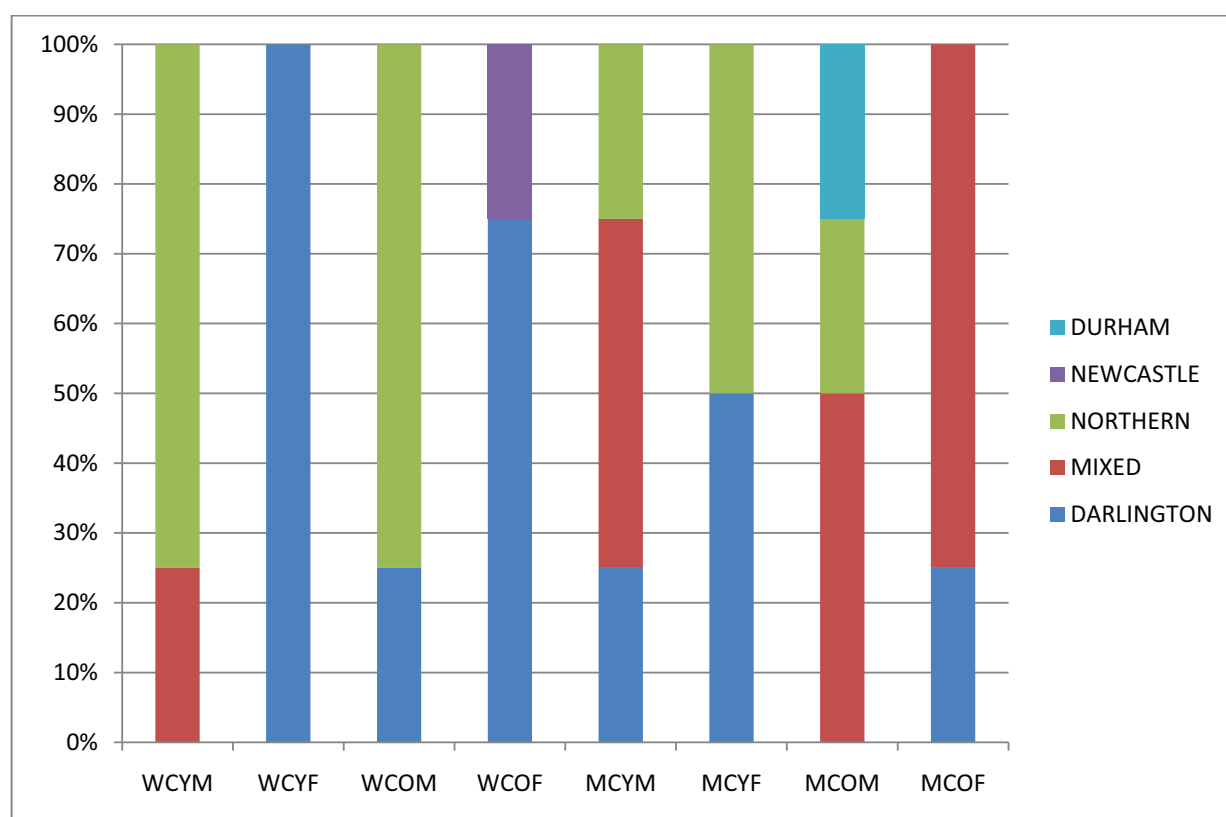
Four of the eleven questions could not be quantified, given the fact that responses were wholly qualitative, and peculiar to specific speakers: these responses are described in detail below.

6.1.1 Evaluation of Darlington English

The following question was put to the subjects: “*what sort of accent would you say you had?*”

The group answers given for this question are shown in figure 6.1:

Figure 6.1: Accent description: accent choice by DE speakers⁹⁴



From the graph, it is clear that the WC younger female speakers were the only group who uniformly described their accent as that of ‘Darlington’. This was true of three of their older WC counterparts. Only twelve of the 32 DE speakers (37.5%) chose to describe their accent as ‘Darlington’. Nineteen speakers (59.4%) described their accent as either ‘Northern’ or ‘mixed’. The remaining speaker (MC older male) chose to describe his accent as one of ‘Durham’. Neither Teesside nor Yorkshire were chosen as a description of the subjects’ accent. When

⁹⁴ Figure 6.1.1 does not include the choices of ‘Teesside’ and ‘Yorkshire’ as neither answer was given by DE subjects for this question.

prompted, those subjects who chose ‘mixed’ or ‘northern’ as a description highlighted a possible confusion about what typically constitutes the Darlington accent. Whilst one older speaker described Darlington English (DE) as “bordering Geordie (...) a bit of a Geordie twang, rather than Durham”, one younger speaker described DE as being “more Yorkshire”. Interestingly, in terms of sex-correlated results, it appeared that female subjects were more definite about describing their accent as ‘Darlington’ than were the male subjects. This was highlighted by the fact that 10/16 females described their accent as ‘Darlington’ against only 2/16 male speakers. No speakers in two male speaker groups (WC younger males and MC older males) chose ‘Darlington’ as a description of their accent. Three of the four WC younger male speakers suggested their accent was “Northern”, with two of the three specifying their accent to be, first and foremost, “North Eastern”. Speaker 1 in the WC younger male group described his accent as “being North-East (...) with Darlington and a bit of Yorkshire”. Seven of the thirty-two speakers (22% - all MC speakers) suggested their accent was a mix of ‘Darlington’ and North Yorkshire. Indeed, only one WC speaker saw DE as a ‘mixed’ accent. No other socially-correlated differences were seen in the data. Similarly, no age-correlated patterns were evident either.

In summary, the results showed that the majority of subjects found it difficult to characterise what exactly constitutes a Darlington accent. Most subjects saw the accent as a mixture of two different North-Eastern accents, be it Geordie and Yorkshire or Durham and Yorkshire. As such, there was a great deal of inconsistency as to what truly constitutes the DE accent.

6.1.2 Specific qualities of the Darlington English accent

The second question in the IDQ gave the subjects an opportunity to discuss the positive and negative feelings towards their accent: “*do you like your accent*”.

The group most satisfied with their accent was the MC younger males, whilst the remaining seven groups displayed mixed reactions. Of the total of thirty-two speakers, fifteen were ‘happy’ with their accent, nine of whom were young. Thus, seventeen speakers, mainly older subjects, were not ‘happy’ with their accent. Of the reasons given for this dissatisfaction, two interesting

quotes arose from the MC younger female speaker group. Speaker 2 described her “Darlington” accent as:

“flat (...) [it] sounds awful (...) and people have a tendency to not like the Darlington accent, because it sounds really common”.

This “flatness” of the accent, when the speaker was prompted further, would appear to come from the vowel system of DE especially in GOAT and FACE vowels (specifically from both monophthongal variants of [o:] and [e:]). Speaker three (from the same speaker group) offered a different reason for her dislike of the Darlington accent. She described the Darlington accent as “(being)...not really distinct (...) I would prefer an accent which is more northern, not a mismatch”. Although the DE accent is seen as being ‘northern’, a number of subjects in the study were aware that it did not possess many ‘typical’ North-Eastern linguistic characteristics. Subjects gave a range of examples including the ingliding diphthongs [ɪə ʊə] and glottalised /t/ ([ʔt]) etc.

6.1.3 Change of accent

Question three assessed whether speakers would change any aspect of their accent given the choice: “*if you could change your accent, what would you change and why?*”

As with the previous section, the results were not quantifiable given that the majority of answers were individual to the particular speaker.

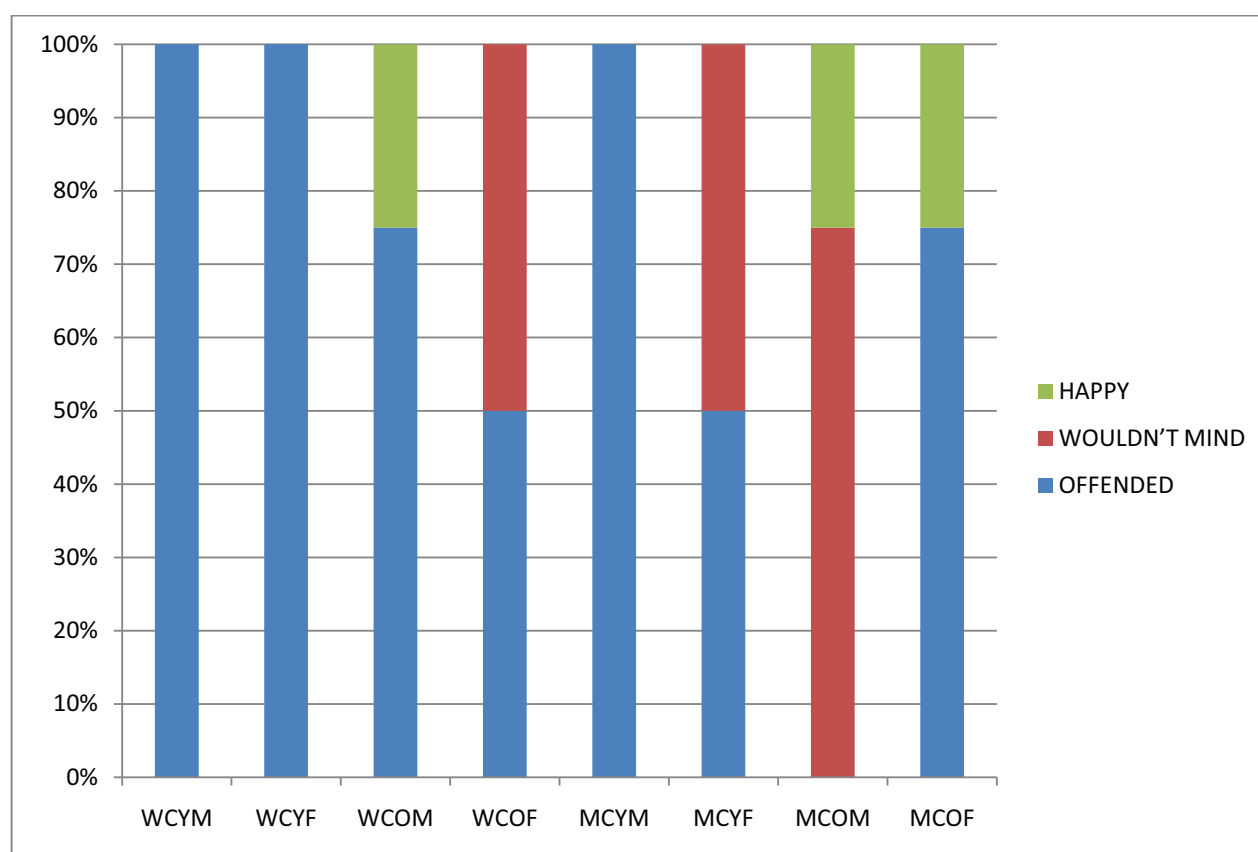
There were, however, age-correlated differences evident in the answers to this question. From the sixteen older speakers, twelve said they did not want to change their accent. This was in direct contrast to the younger speakers, where only two speakers stated that they would not like to change their accent. The younger DE speakers thus, appeared to be more conscious of and concerned about their accent than their older counterparts. Six of the fourteen remaining younger speakers stated that they would change their accent to a more southern sounding one, with a number of speakers stating that they would make their accent “more posh”, either for personal satisfaction, or for career development purposes. Interestingly, all six speakers noted “northern”

[ʊ] and “southern” [ʌ] as being the main difference between northern and southern sounding accents. Furthermore, two young male speakers described how they would prefer to decrease “the amount of Geordie within their accents”.

6.1.4 Regional orientation: *Geordie*

This question was aimed at speakers’ perceptions of being termed “Geordie”. The actual question posed to subjects was: “*if someone described you/your accent as being Geordie – how would you feel?*” The results are shown in figure 6.2:

Figure 6.2: Affiliation to ‘Geordie’ by DE speakers



In figure 6.1.2, there is a high level of ‘offended’ black columns, showing Darlington English speakers’ lack of affinity to being termed ‘Geordie’. Indeed, 22 of the 32 speakers (68.75%)

were ‘offended’ by this tag. The level of dissatisfaction in terms of the tag of ‘Geordie’ was very similar to those of the Middlesbrough informants in Teesside (Llamas 2001: 208). It was the younger speakers, particularly the WC subjects who showed the most dissatisfaction towards the tag of “Geordie”. Although the MC younger males displayed a total dissatisfaction with the Geordie tag, their female counterparts (MC younger females) displayed a more mixed reaction to this question. Speaker three from this group described how “upsetting” it would be, given the “stereotype of a Geordie as a lout”. For speakers one and two in this group however, the tag would not prove a problem. Speaker one based her opinion on the fact that “not many people know where Darlington is, claiming that she would “just accept Geordie”. Speaker two described linguistic equivalence between the accent of Darlington and that of Geordie: “I think we are partly, when you consider the similarity in vowels like ‘cure⁹⁵’”. The suggestion by speaker one that DE speakers just accept being termed ‘Geordie’, especially by speakers not from the North-East, was echoed by speaker four in the WC older male speaker group, who claimed that he was:

“definitely not Geordie but [we] just accept it; *it goes with the northern package*”.

Based on the responses given, this statement would seem to crystallise the Darlington subjects’ experience when meeting people from outside the North East. Two speakers claimed most people outside the “North-East” would probably think they were Geordie, given the fact that, “they don’t know anything north of Watford gap”. A number of other subjects suggested that any notion of their being tagged ‘Geordie’ was simply due to the person’s lack of geographical knowledge. Speaker four in the MC older male speaker group would not be aggrieved, “depending upon who said it”, noting that “a Cockney perhaps would think I was a Geordie”.

It would appear then that DE subjects surveyed in the study showed a distinct dissatisfaction towards the tag of ‘Geordie’. However, although figure 6.1.2 illustrates this lack of affiliation, the responses given by the DE subjects appear to give a more mixed reaction to being tagged a ‘Geordie’. For example, there appeared generally to be a resignation on the part of the subjects to simply accept the tag given the strength of the connection of ‘Geordie’ to the North East.

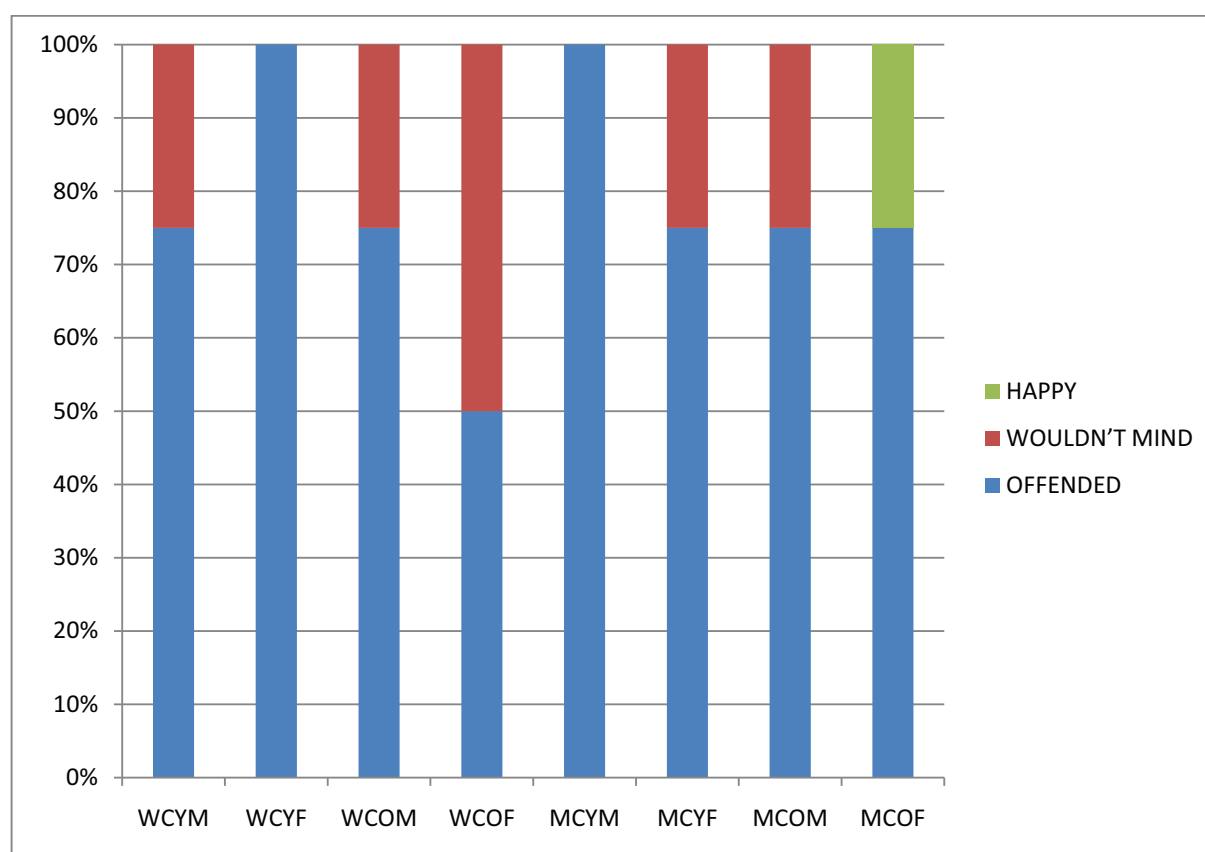
⁹⁵ Unfortunately, the lack of tokens in FC data meant that such a comparison is not made between Tyneside and DE usage of the CURE vowel.

6.1.5 Regional orientation: *Teesside*

The question, “*if someone described you/your accent as being Teessider how would you feel?*” was aimed at recording subjects’ reactions to the misidentification of ‘Teessider’.

A higher amount of ‘offended’ answers were given in relation to the Teesside tag, than to that of Tyneside. In all, twenty-five speakers (in comparison to twenty-two recorded in section 6.1.4) stated that they would be dissatisfied if confused with a Teessider, with only one subject claiming to be happy with the tag.

Figure 6.3: Affiliation to Teesside by DE speakers



All eight speakers in two younger speaker groups (WC females and MC males) showed a lack of affinity towards the tag “Teessider”. One younger MC male described the Teesside accent as

being: “far broader than Darlington especially in the vowel system, where they produce ‘[wa:k]’ instead of ‘[wɜ:k]’”. This vowel comparison was used by many subjects in the study.

As noted in Chapter 2, the inclusion of Darlington within the Tees Valley in the last few years may suggest a connection between the two areas. However, it appeared that speakers did not think of themselves as actually being part of the Teesside area, rather, their only link to this area seemed to be the geographical proximity of Darlington to Teesside. Speakers, when prompted, defined Teesside as constituting Stockton and Middlesbrough, with areas such as Hartlepool also included but mostly as an afterthought. This would seem to emphasise the findings of the perceptual boundaries within the map-task found in section 2.3. One female (WC) young speaker stated, “no, not Teesside, it’s rough over there”. Further to this, one older male MC speaker, whilst stating that he was certainly not a Teessider, noted that “Middlesbrough and Hartlepool have their own particular accent.” His conversational partner shared this view, stating his lack of affiliation with Teesside:

“our (Darlington’s) affinity lies north rather than east (.) it’s easier with the north, rather than east, south and west. Teessiders are very much a *poor man’s Geordie*”

What was evident from the DE speakers’ reactions was the extent to which, in the majority of cases, (a) they would in the case of a perceived misidentification, prefer to be compared with Newcastle-upon-Tyne rather than Middlesbrough/Teesside; and (b) they did not see Teesside as a stereotypical or prominent ‘North-Eastern’ area, as opposed to Tyneside for example.

Speakers’ perceptions of the differences between the DE accent to that of Teesside and Geordie are outlined in the following section.

6.1.6 The Geordie accent: Dialectologically perceptual differences between DE and Geordie

For the sixth part of the IDQ, the following question: “*what are the differences, if any, between your accent and Geordie?*” was put to the DE subjects.

Most subjects saw the linguistic differences between Darlington and Tyneside English as being mostly related to prosody. Fifteen of the thirty-two subjects described the “sing-song” intonational effect of Geordie in contrast to the ‘flat’ nature of Darlington English. Many subjects used the word “twang” with increased frequency when describing the Geordie accent and when prompted about the use of the term, suggested this was due to the vowels used in Tyneside English. Similarly, the DE accent was depicted as being “not as broad as Geordie” and with a lack of “harshness” to it. Another frequent point arising from the attitudinal questionnaire was the fact that the DE subjects believed ‘Geordies’ used truncated words in their vernacular. This was illustrated well by one WC younger male, who used the example of the word ‘pound’ [paʊnd] in DE, becoming ‘pund’ [pʊnd] in Geordie. This variant was also present in Durham Vernacular English (cf. Kerswill 1987). The majority of speakers claimed that the Darlington English accent contains “longer” sounding vowels, perhaps from the influence of Yorkshire from the south. Darlington English speakers noted the ingliding diphthong in the second vowel of ‘away’ [əwɪə] as being a stereotypical Geordie vowel. When asked to expand upon a description of Tyneside English vowels, the majority of speakers did not recognise [o: e:] as being part of this accent, favouring the more stereotypical ingliding diphthongs of [ɪə ʊə]. As well as the prosodic differences and the difference in vowel sounds, DE speakers also highlighted the difference in specific lexical items: words mentioned included ‘hinny’, ‘howay’, ‘pet’ etc. These words were not found in DE, although Kerswill (1987) noted their presence in Durham English. In light of the comparison between Darlington English and Tyneside English, one MC older male speaker stated:

“Darlington has a ‘nothing’ accent, it’s neither one thing nor the other. Geordie is more sing-songy, more North-Eastern: there is less dialect in Darlington.”

This statement would appear to typify many DE subjects’ evaluation of their accent vis a vis Geordie.

6.1.7 The Teesside accent: Dialectologically perceptual differences between DE and Teesside

Using the same question as that in 6.1.6, but in regard to Teesside, it was obvious that there was less affinity to the Teesside accent than to ‘Geordie’. As examined earlier and in the map-task of 2.3, Darlington subjects did not see the town as being part of ‘Teesside’, or even ‘Tees Valley’. Indeed, the majority of DE subjects saw little or no connection geographically between Teesside and their town. Dialectally, one particular facet noted by more than one DE speaker was the difference in vowel use. Four speakers outlined the differences in vowel production between Teesside and DE coming to the conclusion that Teesside production was ‘harsh’ sounding. When asked what they meant by this, speaker three in the WC younger female group stated:

“...it’s like when we [Darlingtonians] say ‘[wɜ:k]’ they [Middlesbrough] say ‘[wa:k]’. It’s very harsh and horrible and I wouldn’t like to think someone thought I was from ‘Boro when I speak”

By highlighting [wɜ:k] as [wa:k], it is possible that DE subjects may be aware of the *tendency of a more open production* in the vowel system of Teesside than in Darlington. It will be remembered that in 4.2, the main variants of Middlesbrough FACE and GOAT vowels were [e:] and [ɔ:] (Watt and Llamas (2004)). The long monophthongal variants in Teesside are more open in production than those of the corresponding Darlington variants ([e:] and [o:]) and this may extend into other vowel sets. Certainly, from the responses given in 6.1.6 and 6.1.7, the Darlington English subjects constantly compared and contrasted the vowel systems of Tyneside, Teesside and Darlington. Although the centring diphthongs ([ɪə] and [ʊə]), typical of Tyneside, were alluded to frequently by DE speakers, the subjects contrasted these to the ‘long’ sounding vowels in Middlesbrough and Darlington.

6.1.8 Summary of attitudes to language

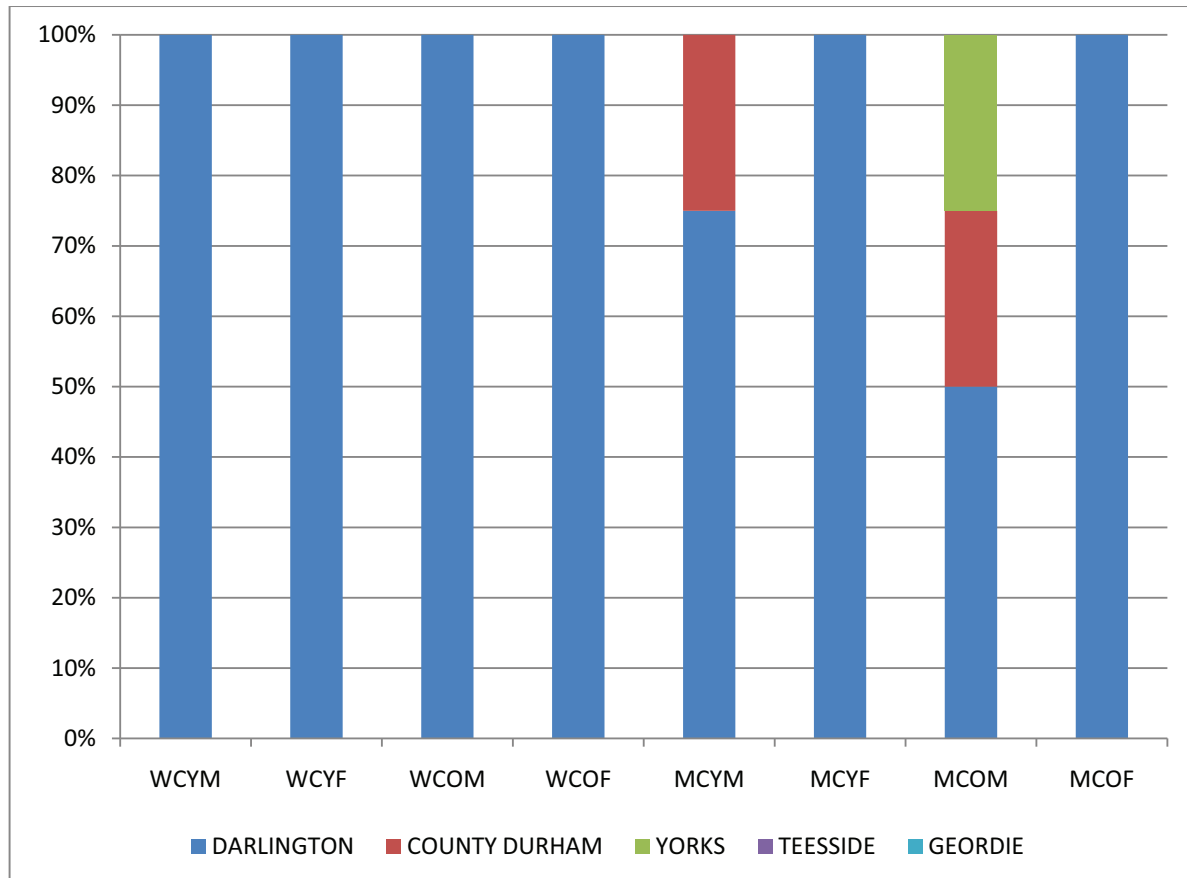
The following points briefly summarise the findings for DE speakers’ evaluation of their accent and others within the North East:

- Darlingtonians see DE as an accent which features linguistic forms from a number of different North-Eastern accents
- Only one speaker claimed DE was a ‘Durham’ accent
- Age-correlated results were noted with regard to change of accent, with 12 of the 16 older speakers stating they would not change their DE accent
- Twenty-two speakers would be ‘offended’ by the perceived misidentification of their accent as ‘Geordie’
- Twenty-five speakers would be ‘offended’ by the perceived misidentification of their accent as ‘Teesside’
- Newcastle (Tyneside) is seen as a typical North-Eastern accent, whilst Teesside and DE are not

6.1.9 Place: Darlington within the North-East

Question eight (“*do you consider yourself to be a Darlingtonian, Durhammer, Teessider, Geordie or Yorkshire(wo)man?*”) assessed speakers’ affiliation to Darlington in the face of a range of other regional choices.

From figure 6.4, it would appear that *only* two groups of speakers provide other answers other than Darlingtonian; both were middle class male groups:

Figure 6.4: Darlington English speakers' local affiliation

Two MC older male speakers preferred affiliation to two different areas surrounding Darlington: Durham and Yorkshire. Speaker one from the older MC speaker group described how he “sees Darlington as Yorkshire”.

From the total of 32 speakers, 29 stated they were Darlingtonians. Although two speakers claimed affiliation to County Durham, the link between County Durham and Darlington is now perhaps not part of the underlying identity of Darlingtonians. It is possible that the split from County Durham in 1997, culminating in the unitary authority of Darlington may have led to the present-day lack of connection to Durham.

As we said, speaker one from the MC older male speaker group claimed he “saw” Darlington as being part of Yorkshire. Closer attention to the speakers’ personal history would suggest that Yorkshire had played a heavy role in this speaker’s life. Having been born in Darlington, he [speaker one] completed National Service in North Yorkshire, playing cricket for the local team. The speaker, returning to Darlington to live and work, as a head teacher at a small primary school to the north of the town, still maintained links to the North Yorkshire village, playing cricket up until his 50th birthday. He also meets friends every week in the village, where he also met his future wife (who was born in North Yorkshire). These factors, and the proximity of Darlington to the North Yorkshire boundary, may have resulted in such an affiliation.

On the whole, and given the results in figure 6.1.4, DE subjects show affinity to their town: this was highlighted in the high figures in terms of local affiliation and the disaffiliation towards Tees and Tyneside.

6.1.10 Place: Regional affiliation and orientation to Darlington

The ninth question of the IDQ (“*if you were on holiday anywhere in the country or abroad – where would you say you came from?*”) examined whether subjects would elect to state that they were from Darlington principally, or whether they would select an area in the North-East more recognizable to someone from outside this area. Subjects were also given the chance to explain which area they would choose instead of Darlington. The choice of area stated after or in place of Darlington was of particular interest.

A mixed response was evident from the WC younger males. Two speakers in this group claimed that “no-one knows where Darlington is”. They chose Middlesbrough as the place they would claim to come from, with the geographical proximity to Middlesbrough of Darlington as being the reason for their choice. However, speaker one stated that many people have not heard of Middlesbrough, claiming that Newcastle-upon-Tyne was more widely known. Conversely, speaker three (WC younger male) claimed he would choose Middlesbrough after Darlington, as any mention of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in his opinion, induced reactions such as “you’re a Geordie”.

The choice of stating Darlington followed by Newcastle-upon-Tyne was the most frequent throughout the results. This was especially true in both the WC younger females and the MC older male group. Moreover, the older male MC speakers had a reason for choosing Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with one speaker affirming the point:

“...[I’d] plump for Newcastle-upon-Tyne rather than Middlesbrough/Yorkshire, as it’s more of a central area in the North-East – Tyneside is the North-East”.

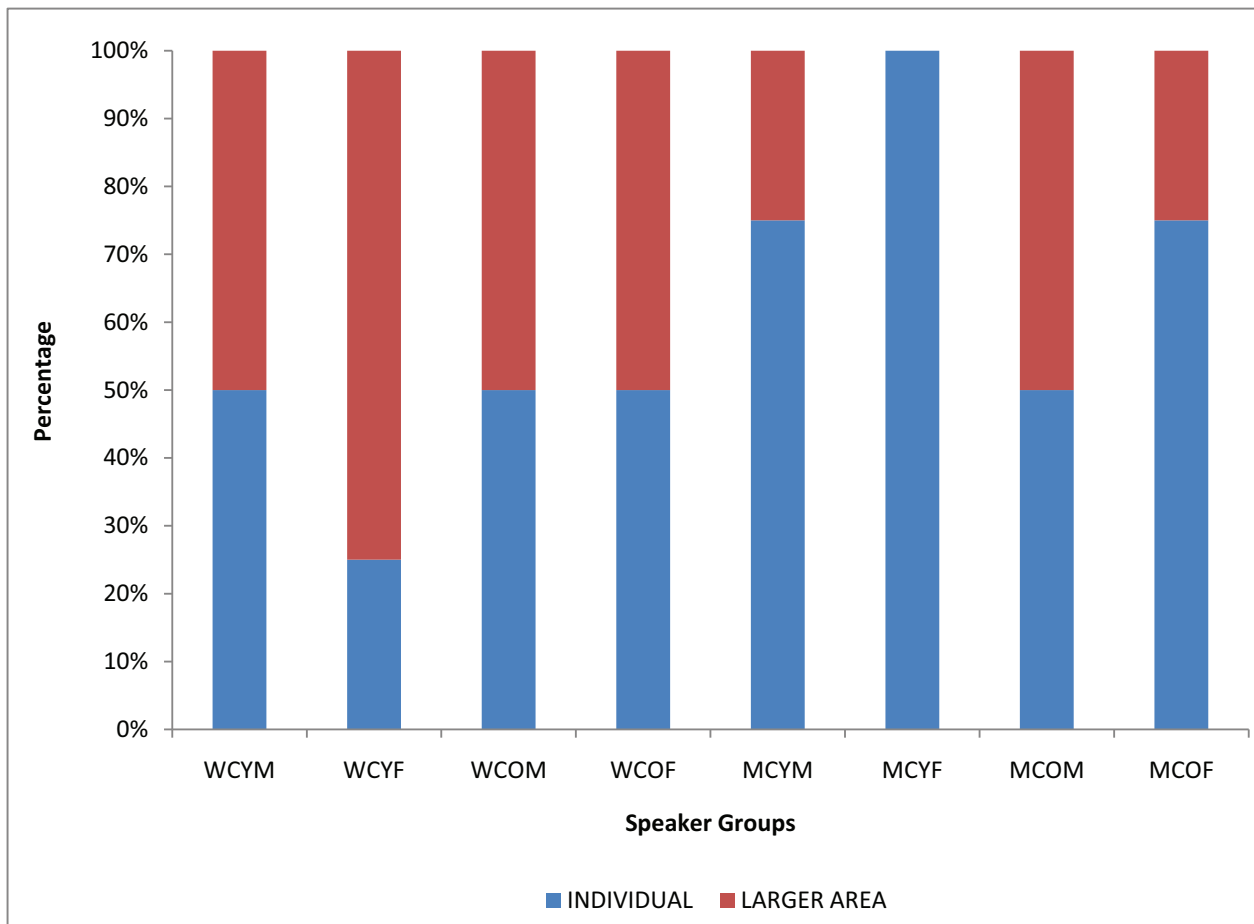
As with the WC younger males, their MC counterparts shared mixed opinions as to the place of Darlington in the North Eastern area. Two of the four speakers actually noted that Darlington lay on the North Yorkshire/South Durham border. The remaining two speakers gave a much broader description, stating “the North East” as describing their domicile. Moreover, these speakers were the only DE subjects to choose the North East as describing their domicile. Three speakers decided to choose the North-East of England as their first choice as their answers although this choice would seem to stem from those people who informants may have met on holiday and their presumed lack of geographic knowledge.

In conclusion, the results of this question highlighted that:

- Most subjects chose Darlington as the place with which they wished to be associated (29/32)
- The remaining three subjects chose the North East of England
- Newcastle-upon-Tyne was the most frequent alternative.

6.1.11 Place: Darlington as an “individual” area

The penultimate question (“*would you say Darlington is an individual area or part of a larger area?*”) explored whether DE speakers saw Darlington directly as an individual area, or as part of a larger area (for example, County Durham, or indeed “the North East”).

Figure 6.5: Darlington: Individual or part of a larger area

In figure 6.5, it is evident that this question produced clear socially-correlated results. The working class speakers saw Darlington less as an individual area than did their middle class counterparts. Three WC younger females saw Darlington as being part of a larger area. When prompted as to their definition of “larger area”, all three speakers stated “the North East”, rather than County Durham or North Yorkshire. This was not the case for their middle class counterparts (MCYF) who all saw Darlington as an individual area. This group was the only group which produced the maximum score for this question. Speaker four in this group described Darlington as an individual area, whilst stating that the town was:

“...a place which people have to go through to get to better places (...) it’s more like a gateway to other places”

Perhaps the greatest inconsistency derived from the WC younger male and MC older male groups, who provided a number of different responses. Two speakers from the WC younger males stated that Darlington was an individual area with one qualifying this by saying Darlington was “part of the Stockton/Middlesbrough/Teesdale area”. Indeed, speaker two stated Darlington was “associated” with Middlesbrough. Finally, speaker four (in the WC younger males) described how Darlington was part of the larger area of “County Durham”. The first MC older male speaker suggested Darlington was:

“...a natural place on its own (...) I would say that it struggles to be part of Durham and really now has more links to Teesside than anywhere else”.

This was contrasted by speaker two (MCOM) who defined Darlington as a “well defined individual area, with no close links at all”. Speakers three and four saw Darlington as part of two differing larger areas. For speaker three Darlington is part of South Durham, but also as he stated “Darlington is North Yorkshire’s back yard”. Speaker four did not share this idea, stating Darlington as “part of the North East, rather than Durham”.

Of the thirty-two speakers, 19 saw Darlington as an entirely individual area, whilst, of the 13 remaining subjects, there was inconsistency as to the exact links binding Darlington to the surrounding North-East areas. Notably, the outcome for this question, with 59.4% of speakers claiming Darlington to be “individual”, was significantly lower than the 90.1% of speakers claiming to be “Darlingtonian” in response to the previous question.

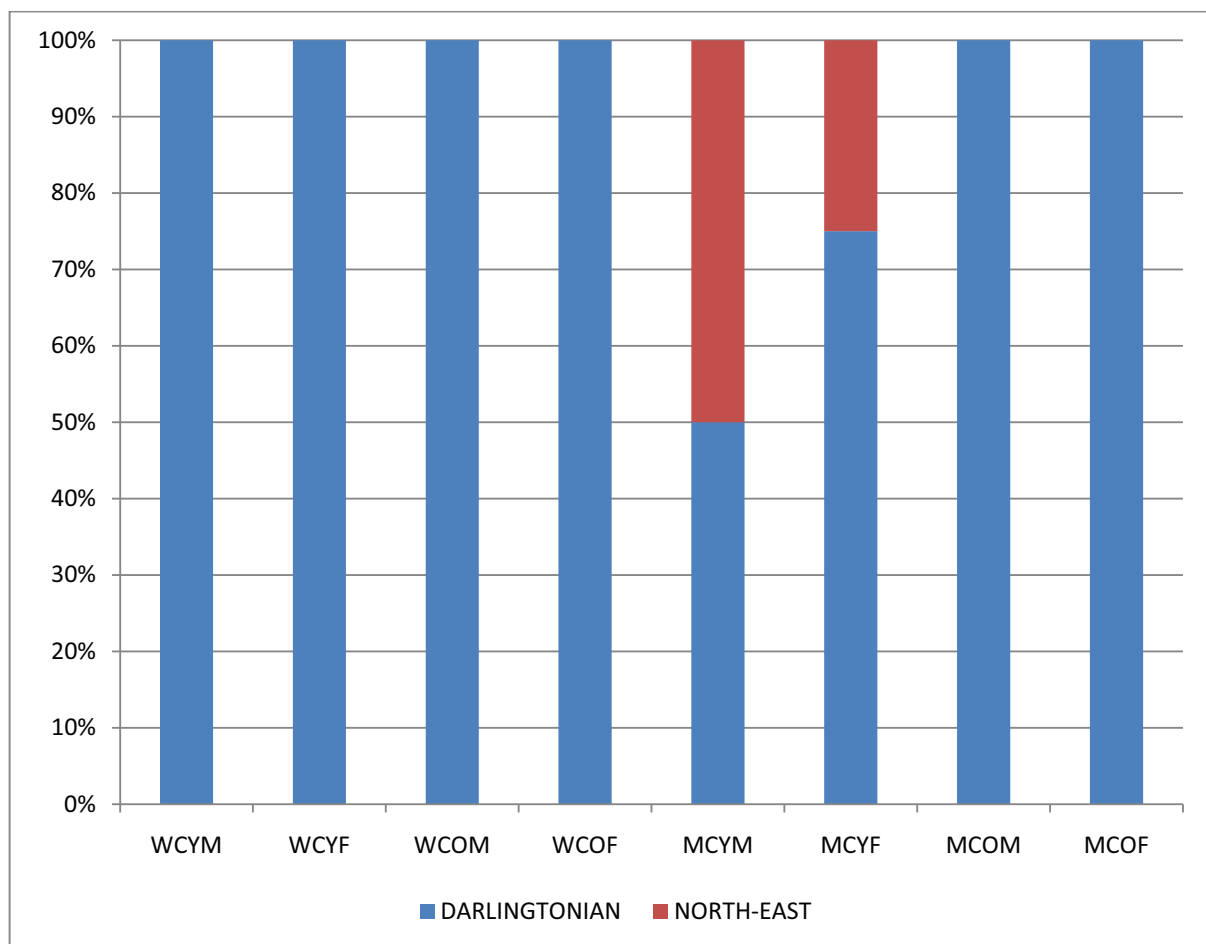
6.1.12 Place: Darlington versus “the North-East”⁹⁶

The final question of the identity questionnaire examined speakers’ choice between the North Easterner and Darlingtonian ‘tag’: “*would you term yourself a Darlingtonian first and a North-Easterner second or vice-versa?*”

⁹⁶ Although similar in structure to Question 8, this question gives only a binary choice of areas, as opposed to question 8 which allows choice between a range of areas in the North-East.

Of the 32 speakers, only three chose to term themselves as “North-Easterners”, with 29 choosing Darlington. This tallies neatly with Question 8 above, where 29 subjects chose Darlington before any other North-East areas. The three speakers, all of whom were older MC speakers, chose the tag of North-Easterner first. Of the reasons given for this choice, two speakers stated that they "love what goes on in the North East", suggesting that Darlington is far too “enclosed” to term themselves as Darlingtonians.

Figure 6.6: Darlington versus ‘North-Easterner’



Of the three speakers choosing ‘North-East’ first, speaker one in the MC younger male group stated:

“...[I’d be] a North Easterner first, as most people relate to it and my accent would suggest [I come from] the North East”.

It is possible that for this speaker, being identified as a North-Easterner through his accent is thus more likely than being described specifically as a Darlingtonian.

6.1.13 Summary of ‘Place’

The following points briefly summarise the findings for DE speakers’ evaluation of their own town and its place within the North East:

- Darlingtonians are affiliated more to their own town than the ‘North-East’
- Only one speaker claimed an affiliation to Durham, perhaps highlighting the lack of connection to the previous administrative area of Darlington
- Darlingtonians see Tyneside as the focal point of the North-East
- There are differing levels of disaffinity to Teesside and Tyneside (Darlington subjects view Teesside with a high level of dislike, whilst although Tyneside similarly provokes a level of disaffiliation, there are a number positive affiliations also)

The mapping of the attitudes outlined above onto speakers’ linguistic use is detailed in the following section, concerning specifically, the vowel variables of FACE and GOAT and (t) in pre-pausal and turn final position.

6.2 Locally relevant identities: North-Eastern inter-group comparison

Having assessed the DE subjects’ responses to the IDQ, the following section seeks to explore whether the local orientation of these speakers correlates in any way to their linguistic performance. As part of this, comparisons are made between the findings of this study and those in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Watt (1998)) and Middlesbrough (Llamas (2001), Watt and Llamas (2004)).

The main findings in 6.1 suggested that DE subjects showed a tendency to disaffiliate from both areas: comparison for both vocalic and consonantal results between Darlington, Tyneside and Teesside will test whether such disaffiliation is mirrored in the subjects' linguistic use. Further to this, a number of groups within the DE corpus (e.g. the younger MC males, older WC females) who showed (a) an affiliation to or (b) a disaffiliation to either of the two urban areas of Tyneside and Teesside are contrasted to their corresponding groups in both these areas. The linguistic use of each DE group is then compared to their corresponding groups in Tyneside and Teesside. Thus, inter- North-Eastern group effects are examined showing similarities to and differences between corresponding social, age and sex groups. In addition, individual speaker linguistic token use is examined. A number of limitations to this form of comparison exist however, and these are now summarised briefly.

Although the present study categorised speakers by social class, age and sex, both Middlesbrough studies (Llamas (2001) and Watt and Llamas (2004)) defined subjects only by age and sex. In Llamas (2001) results were recorded using only working class speakers⁹⁷, whilst speakers in Watt and Llamas (2004 – investigating vocalic use in Middlesbrough) were all middle class. Comparisons for (t) between Darlington and Middlesbrough are thus made *only between WC speakers*, whilst those for (e) and (o) are made *using only MC speakers*. It is also important to note the limitations of style which may affect any comparison of this kind. In Watt and Llamas (2004) all results were taken from a formal style word list, thus negating the possibility for comparison of (e) and (o) in free conversation.

In terms of vocalic comparisons between Darlington MC speakers and those in Middlesbrough and Tyneside in the following section (6.2.1), it should be noted that although [e:], [ɛ:] and [o:], [ɔ:] are different in phonetic realisation, both sets are referred as 'long monophthongs' (cf. tables 6.2.1 and 6.2.2) for ease of comparison.

⁹⁷ Llamas (2001: 56) suggests that speakers used in her study self-categorised themselves as working class, thus there are no results in this study for middle class speakers.

6.2.1: Middle-class use of (e) and (o) in three North-Eastern areas

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 highlight (a) the type of variant and (b) the percentage frequency of use in formal speech in the urban areas of Darlington, Middlesbrough and Newcastle-upon-Tyne:

Table 6.1: Variants and percentage distribution in RWL for FACE in three NE areas⁹⁸

FACE vowel variant	Area		
	Tyneside	Teesside	Darlington
e: / ɛ: (Long monophthongs)	59.3	57.6	27
ɛ: (Centralised variant of ɛ:)	-	13.9	-
ɪə / eə (Centring diphthongs)	2.4	22.4	-
eɪ (Closing diphthong)	38.3	6	73

⁹⁸ NB. MC speakers only.

Table 6.2: Variants and percentage distribution in RWL for GOAT in three NE areas⁹⁹

GOAT vowel variant	Area		
	Tyneside	Teesside	Darlington
o: / ɔ: (Long monophthongs)	60.5	62	11.6
ɔ: (Centralised variant of ɔ:)	-	20.9	-
ʊə (Centring diphthong)	-	12.9	-
ə: (Unrounded vocoid)	7.8	-	5.7
oʊ (Closing diphthong)	31.8	4.65	82.7

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 clearly show differences in frequency of use for the variants of (e) and (o) between Darlington and the other North Eastern areas of Teesside and Tyneside. It is noticeable that Tyneside and Middlesbrough share similar frequency use for the long monophthongs (italicised in the tables) whereas DE shows significantly low use. Also, the use of the closing diphthongs [eɪ oʊ] by the DE middle class ([eɪ] – 73% and [oʊ] – 82.7%) was higher than that in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (38.3% and 31.8%) and significantly higher than in Middlesbrough ([eɪ] – 6%, [oʊ] – 4.65%). However, there were similarities between DE and Tyneside MC speakers in terms of centring diphthongal use, given the minimal use [ɪə] in Tyneside and absence of [ʊə].

⁹⁹ NB. MC speakers only.

There were also similarities between DE and Tyneside English speaker use for the unrounded monophthongal variant of GOAT [Θ:] (Tyneside – 7.8%, Darlington – 5.7%), which was absent in MC Middlesbrough English speech.

The differences in the vocalic data between DE and Teesside MC speakers is striking given the geographical proximity between the two towns (twelve miles). Other DE working class groups' use were compared to that of the MC results in Middlesbrough, with only the WC older females showing linguistic similarities to their corresponding Middlesbrough group. Interestingly, from the results in 6.1, the only DE speakers showing any affinity to Teesside were the WC older females, with two speakers in particular claiming to be 'happy' by any misidentification to Teesside. Although differing in social-class categorisation, this group showed similarities to the Middlesbrough MC older female group in both FACE and GOAT vowels. Both results for the MbE MC older females and DE older WC females for FACE and GOAT are shown in tables 6.3 and 6.4:

Table 6.3: FACE vowel percentage distributions (RWL): older WC DE females versus older MC MbE females¹⁰⁰

	Long monophthongs ([ɛ:] & [e:])	Closing diphthong ([eɪ])
MbE	60	20
DE	65	27

¹⁰⁰ Only the long monophthongs and centring diphthongs have been compared for FACE as [ɛ:] use in MbE (20% for MC females) and [eə] in DE (8% for WC females) are not comparable given the nature of their phonetic realisation.

Table 6.4: GOAT vowel percentage distributions (RWL): older WC DE females versus older MC MbE females

	Long monophthong ([ɔ:] & [o:])	Closing diphthong ([oʊ])	Open centralised monophthongs ([ɔ:] & [ə:])
MbE	55	20	12.5
DE	84	12	4

For GOAT, both groups (WC DE and MC MbE females) appear to prefer both the open back monophthongs ([ɔ:] in MbE and [o:] in DE, although DE use was higher than the MbE speakers use. This is also true of production of closing diphthongs, with DE females using the centralised variant (in this case [ə:]) as well as the centring diphthong, less than the MbE females. Results for FACE showed that the DE females used a higher rate of the long monophthong, whilst in both groups the closing diphthong [eɪ] was the second most frequent variant. Although there are disparities, it is interesting to note that the DE group with most affinity to Teesside in their attitudinal responses in the IDQ (the WC older females) displayed the most similarities to their corresponding sex/age group for FACE and GOAT vowels.

Returning to the MC vowel results, it was evident in 6.1.5 that MC DE speakers (with the exception of the younger males) showed *more affinity* to the tag of ‘Geordie’ than did their WC counterparts. This was especially apparent of the MC older male group, in which three speakers claimed they ‘wouldn’t mind’ the tag, whilst the remaining speaker added he would be ‘happy’ to be confused with a ‘Geordie’. In contrast, the younger MC males were the group least satisfied with being termed ‘Geordie’ with *all four speakers* feeling aggrieved by the tag. Both MC male groups’ vowel use in formal and informal speech is compared with their respective Tyneside speaker groups below:

Table 6.5: MC younger male use in TE and DE in informal/formal styles

MCYM	Tyneside		Darlington		Variant	Tyneside		Darlington	
Style	RWL	FC	RWL	FC	Style	RWL	FC	RWL	FC
e:	51.9	73.1	13.3	26.6	o:	34.3	44.7	6.25	31.3
eɪ	38.5	12.4	86.7	83.7	oʊ	36.4	17.6	87.5	69.7
ɪə/eə	9.6	14.5	-	-	ə:	30.3	34.7	6.25	-
					ʊə	-	3.0	-	-

Table 6.6: MC older male use in TE and DE in informal/formal styles

MCOM	Tyneside		Darlington		Variant	Tyneside		Darlington	
Style	RWL	FC	RWL	FC	Style	RWL	FC	RWL	FC
e:	84.4	78.3	26.7	74.1	o:	90.6	72.6	22.9	65.8
eɪ	15.4	-	73.3	19.4	oʊ	9.4	-	77.1	27.9
ɪə/eə	-	21.7	-	-	ə:	-	15.4	-	6.3
					ʊə	-	12.0	-	-

In table 6.5, both groups of speakers use the same variants for (e) and (o) (the only exception being [ɪə/ʊə]). The differences in frequency of use are clear. The high use of the closing diphthongs [eɪ/oʊ] both in formal and informal styles by the DE younger MC males is in direct contrast to their use by the corresponding group of Tyneside males. The significant difference in

frequency use of variants for MC younger male speaker groups mirrors the attitudinal responses elicited from the IDQ.

Table 6.6 shows that although there are differences in DE and Tyneside English in the older male use of (e) and (o) in formal styles, there are clear similarities in the informal FC. As highlighted in italics in the table, the similarities are evident in the use of the close mid monophthongs ([e:] and [o:]) for both sets of speakers. This is interesting given the fact that the DE older MC males were the group *most satisfied* with being termed Geordie. Particularly, it is interesting to examine the individual linguistic use within this DE group for FACE and GOAT use. Speaker 1 in the group (Martin – who it will be recalled, was surveyed in the pilot study (3.1)) was the speaker claiming to be ‘happy’ with the tag of Geordie. Although his use of closing diphthongs was high in the RWL for both vowels, this was not the case in free conversation. Indeed, Martin’s use of the long monophthongs [e: o:] in free conversation was very high in contrast to his fellow group speakers. This is illustrated in table 6.7:

Table 6.7: Speaker 1 MC older male token use for FACE/GOAT for FC in DE

o:	ə:	oʊ	eɪ	e:	eə
42 (100%)	-	-	9 (17.5%)	42 (82.5%)	-

Martin’s use of both monophthongs was higher than the average for his group (65% for [o:] and 74 for [e:]) and closer to the average found in the corresponding TE group (78% [e:] – 72.6% [o:]). Speaker 3 (Joe) also provided a number of positive reactions towards the Geordie tag¹⁰¹ highlighted in 6.1.5. It is interesting to assess the breakdown of vowel variants for this speaker also:

¹⁰¹ cf. 6.1 – “...Newcastle is the focus of the North-East”/”...we gravitate north, rather than east, west or south”.

Table 6.8: Speaker 3 of DE MC older male token use for FACE/GOAT in FC

o:	ə:	oʊ	eɪ	e:	eə
39 (65%)	3 (5%)	18 (30%)	4 (7.5%)	44 (82.5%)	5 (10%)

Again, use of both monophthongs in FC is high, especially for [e:], which was very similar to Martin's use. Neither speaker however used the ingliding diphthongs [ɪə ʊə] which were found in the corresponding Tyneside English group (21.7% - [ɪə]; 12% [ʊə]), with only speaker 3 producing 10% of [eə]. However, it is interesting that both DE speakers who displayed positive affiliations or links to Tyneside used high proportions of [e: o:] closer to the average percentage found in their corresponding TE group (although it is also worth noting that neither speaker produced a high frequency of the centring diphthongs found typically in Tyneside ([ɪə ʊə])).

In summary, the results for FACE and GOAT in MC speech for the three North Eastern areas showed few similarities in variant use. This was particularly true of DE and MbE vowel use. The following section examines whether similarities for (t) exist between DE and MbE. As stated previously, these comparisons only highlight WC use of (t). It is also worth noting that in section 6.1 both the group least affiliated to Teesside (young females) and the most affiliated to Teesside (older females) came from the WC. Both groups' usage is compared and contrasted with the corresponding groups in Teesside.

6.2.2: Comparison of MbE and DE (t) usage in WC class speech for pre-pausal and turn-final positions

Before examining specific group use for (t), the following section compares overall (t) use in Middlesbrough and Darlington for pre-pausal and turn-final positions. Table 6.2.9 compares (t) variants in pre-pausal and turn-final positions in Darlington and Middlesbrough English for overall working class speech:

Table 6.9: WC variant use (%) in FC for Middlesbrough and Darlington English in pre-pausal and turn final positions

	Pre-pausal (%)						Turn-final (%)				
	ʔ	t	d	Ø	t'	Ht ¹⁰²	ʔ	t	t'	Ø	Ht
Darlington	65.6	34.4	0.53	-	-	-	53.3	46.7	-	-	-
Middlesbrough	58.9	30.7	-	3.1	3.3	4	49.3	42.6	1.1	3	4

From table 6.9, it can be seen that there are clear similarities in the distribution for the variants of [ʔ] and [t] between DE and MbE WC speech for turn final and pre-pausal (t). It is interesting however to note that [ʔ] is the most frequent variant in *both accents* in *both positions*, (DE – 53.3%/49.3% and MbE 58.9%/49.3%) - a pattern not evident in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (cf. 4.4)), although [ʔ] use was higher in turn final and pre-pausal (t) in Darlington than in Middlesbrough. It should also be noted that although the two variants were used infrequently [Ø, t'] with [Ht] absent in Darlington English. Middlesbrough English would appear to use more variants than Darlington for (t).

¹⁰² This symbol represents the aspirated variant of (t)

6.2.3 Speaker group comparisons: pre-pausal and turn final (t)

The following section outlines working class DE use for (t) in turn-final and pre-pausal positions (in free conversation) in comparison to the corresponding MbE groups. The results for pre-pausal (t) in DE and MbE for both [t] and [ʔ] in free conversation are shown in table 6.10:

Table 6.10: Distribution of [ʔ] and [t] in pre-pausal position in WC DE and MbE speaker groups¹⁰³

	OLDER MALES		YOUNGER MALES		OLDER FEMALES		YOUNGER FEMALES	
	t	ʔ	t	ʔ	t	ʔ	t	ʔ
MbE	62.9%	19	15	84.2	53.9	32.2	15	77.5
DE	43.9%	56.1	13.2	76.8	50.7	49.3	11.8	78.2

What is apparent from the table is the similarity in both younger speaker groups' frequency use in both [t] and [ʔ]. Both sets of younger speakers use over 75% use of [ʔ] in pre-pausal position with MbE males using [ʔ] most frequently. It will be remembered that the group most dissatisfied with the tag of Teesside in 6.1 were the WC younger females. If we assess individual speech within the WC younger female speaker group (as highlighted in table 6.11), it is obvious that little variation is apparent between speakers 1, 2 and 4, although speaker 3 however showed higher use of [ʔ] than her fellow subjects:

¹⁰³ Percentage figures do not total 100% in each group, given the group's use of the remaining three variants [ʔ,t,d].

Table 6.11: Younger DE (WC) female individual token totals for pre-pausal (t)

Speaker	[t]	[ʔ]
1	21 (25%)	64 (75%)
2	22 (24%)	72 (76%)
3	17 (15%)	98 (85%)
4	24 (26%)	68 (74%)

Speaker 1 gave a number of comments showing negativity towards the tag¹⁰⁴. However, in spite of the subject's dislike of Teesside and its accent, her use of [ʔ] (75.3%), leaving only 24.7% use of [t] would appear to be similar to the average found in MbE and DE for pre-pausal (t). Thus, in this group, there is no real evidence that attitudinal affiliations to Teesside are directly connected to linguistic use (in this case, use of pre-pausal (t)).

The older DE females, the group who were happiest with the misidentification of 'Teessider', shared similar use to their corresponding MbE group for [t] (53.9% - MbE, 50.7% - DE) although their glottal use was slightly higher (32.3% in Middlesbrough and 49.3% in Darlington). All speakers within the group showed relatively similar use of [t] and [ʔ]: this is shown in table 6.12:

¹⁰⁷ The speaker who, when asked whether her accent could be misidentified as Teesside claimed, "...no, not Teesside, it's rough over there". The speaker also commented on the difference between [wɜ:k] and [wa:k] in the Teesside accent.

Table 6.12: Older DE (WC) female individual token totals for pre-pausal (t)

Speaker	[t]	[ʔ]
1	52 (53.6%)	45 (46.4%)
2	45 (47.4%)	50 (52.6%)
3	48 (52.7%)	43 (47.3%)
4	47 (48.9%)	49 (51.1%)

Speakers 1 and 3, who claimed they, ‘wouldn’t mind’ being termed a Teessider had slightly higher percentage use of [t] than [ʔ], whilst speakers 2 and 4 preferred [ʔ]. It is clear that for older DE females there were similarities with the corresponding MbE group, with [t] being the preferred variant. In the older male speaker groups, it was evident that there are clear differences in use of [ʔ] between these two groups.

Table 6.13 shows the similarity in results for both accents for turn-final (t) in free conversation:

Table 6.13: Percentage distribution of [ʔ] and [t] in turn-final position in DE and MbE

	OLDER MALES		YOUNGER MALES		OLDER FEMALES		YOUNGER FEMALES	
	t	ʔ	t	ʔ	t	ʔ	t	ʔ
MbE	75.0	16.1	23.0	77.0	70.0	23.2	27.5	64.1
DE	62.2	37.8	32.9	67.1	60.9	39.1	31.8	68.1

As with pre-pausal (t), there are similarities in frequency use for [ʔ] and [t] the younger speaker groups, showing a higher use of [ʔ] than the older speaker groups. In the younger female group, there was a difference of only 4.1% between [ʔ] in Darlington and Middlesbrough. There is again a relationship between the use of (t) in older female speech in DE and MbE, although [t] use was higher in MbE by 15%. In the older female group, there was one speaker (speaker 3) who had a higher percentage of [t] use than her fellow group speakers:

Table 6.14: Older DE (WC) female individual token totals for turn final (t)

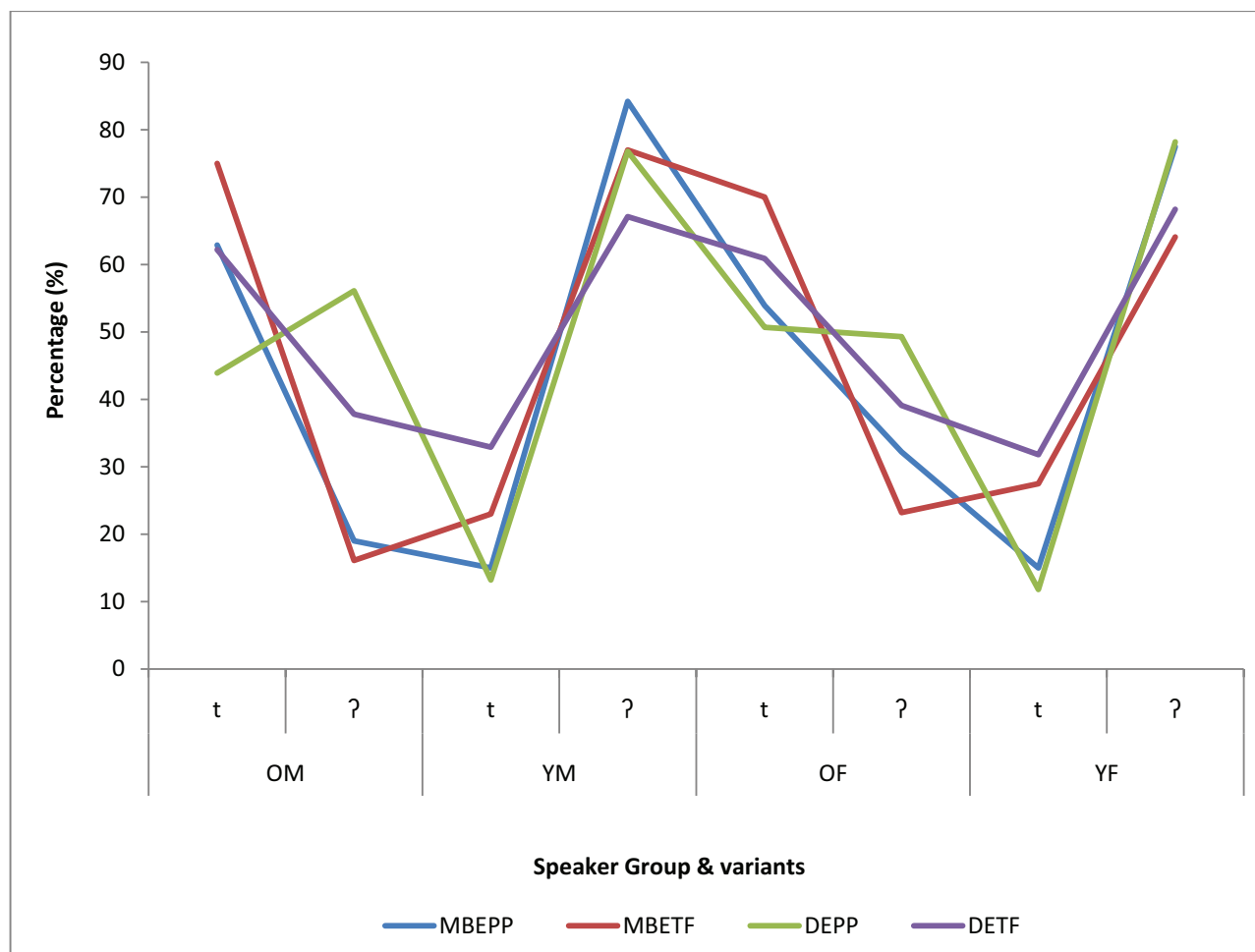
Speaker	[t]	[ʔ]
1	9 (45%)	13 (55%)
2	8 (66.6%)	4 (33.3%)
3	23 (76.7%)	7 (23.3%)
4	12 (60%)	8 (40%)

Interestingly, speaker 3 who had the highest use of [t] in turn final position, a figure similar to the average in the Middlesbrough group, claimed, in 6.1.5, ‘not to mind’ being termed a Teessider. Speaker 1 who gave a similar reaction, used a lower amount (45%). Interestingly, speaker 2 (who used [t] for 66.7% of the time) shows very similar use of [t] to Middlesbrough, although she claimed not to have an affinity to Middlesbrough. Again, as with younger DE female use of (t), it is difficult to find any correlation between use of word-final (t) and speaker attitudes towards Teesside. Thus, when analysing intra-group results for individual speakers, there are no clear correlations between linguistic use and attitudinal affiliation.

Elsewhere, no significantly different patterns emerge from the younger speaker groups, with no real variation in token usage for [t] and [ʔ]. However, in the older male speaker group, the speaker who claimed not to mind misidentification of a Teessider in 6.1.5 (speaker 3) produced 79% (19/24 tokens) of [t] usage, a figure more indicative of the corresponding MbE average (75%) than Darlington (62.2%).

It is interesting to compare both sets of results for the two environments of (t): both turn final and pre-pausal results for [t] and [ʔ] use are shown graphically in figure 6.7:

Figure 6.7: Percentage distribution for pre-pausal and turn final (t) in MbE and DE speaker groups¹⁰⁵



The graph shows the similarity between the two accents' use of (t) in pre-pausal and turn final positions for WC speech. The figure also shows the high use of [ʔ] in the younger speaker groups in both (t) conditions in DE and MbE, against that of the high use of [t] in the older speaker groups, particularly in turn final position.

The following section outlines WC DE and MbE use of (t) in word-medial intervocalic position.

¹⁰⁵ Legend shows MBEPP = Middlesbrough English pre-pausal/ MBETF = Middlesbrough English turn final/ DEPP = Darlington English pre-pausal/DETF = Darlington English turn final.

6.2.4: Comparison of MbE and DE (t) usage in FC for WC speech in word-medial intervocalic position

The overall use for each variant in both sets of WC speech is shown in table 6.15:

Table 6.15: Percentage distribution of [t], [ʔ] and [ʔt] in intervocalic position in DE and MbE

	OLDER MALES			YOUNGER MALES			OLDER FEMALES			YOUNGER FEMALES		
	t	ʔ	ʔt	t	ʔ	ʔt	t	ʔ	ʔt	t	ʔ	ʔt
MbE	12.5	11.7	75.8	1.7	95.8	2.5	73	27	-	5.7	88.3	5
DE	42.3	42.3	15.4	42.9	42.9	14.1	84*	12	4	49.4	44.2	6.3

***figures in bold highlight similarity between DE and MbE usage**

Unlike turn final and pre-pausal (t) results, table 6.15 shows no real similarities in frequency of distribution, save for the use of the glottallised variant [ʔt] in both accents (16.7% in Middlesbrough and 10% in Darlington). The preferred variant in DE for intervocalic (t) was the released alveolar plosive [t] (54.65%). In Middlesbrough this variant was under half this figure (23.4%). Instead, Middlesbrough WC speakers chose to produce [ʔ] for 59.9% of their use, significantly more than that found in Darlington (35.35%).

In three of the four Darlington English speaker groups (older males and both younger groups), it was apparent that their use was fairly well split between both [ʔ] and [t] variants, although younger female use was slightly higher for [t] than [ʔ]. In each of the Middlesbrough groups, one variant alone was higher than any other: this was true of [ʔ] in both younger groups, [t] in older

females and [ʔt] in the older males. With the exception of the older males (with 75.8% in Middlesbrough of [ʔt]), it would appear that the glottalised variant was higher in Darlington than in the Middlesbrough WC speaker groups, although the figures are relatively low.

Interestingly, the only groups showing any similarity in terms of use of [t] were the older female speakers with the difference between the groups being only 7%. It will be remembered that this group showed the most affiliation to Teesside. Looking within this group, particularly at speakers 1 and 3 who claimed not to feel aggrieved at the misidentification of ‘Teessider’, it is noteworthy that of the total of 12 tokens of [ʔ], all were produced by these two speakers¹⁰⁶:

Table 6.16: Speakers 1 and 3 (DE older WC females): use of (t) in intervocalic position

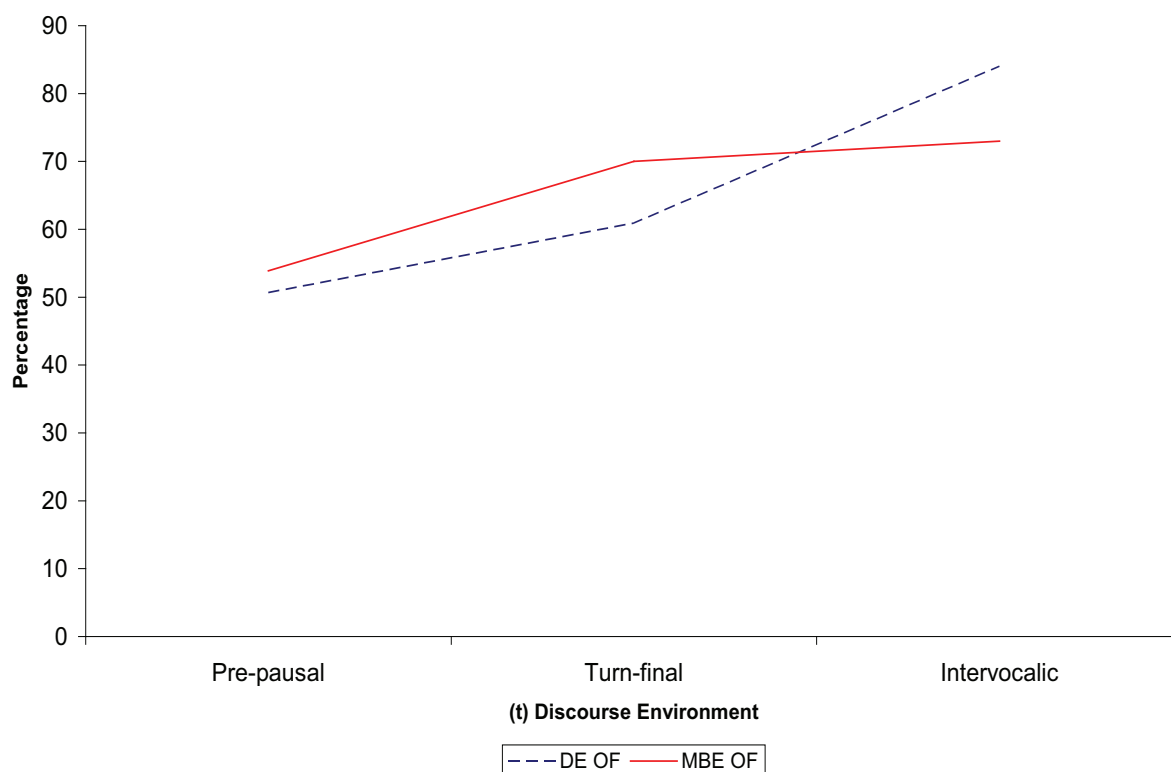
Speaker	[t]	[ʔ]	[ʔt]
1	17 (70.8%)	6 (25%)	1 (4.2%)
3	20 (68.9%)	6 (20.7%)	3 (10.4%)

Although the token number was relatively low for [ʔ], the two speakers’ average for this variant was close to that of the corresponding MbE group (27%). More significant perhaps was the fact that their group average use of [t] in intervocalic position was also very similar to the average for the Middlesbrough English group (73%). Both speakers who displayed most affiliation to Teesside shared very similar patterns of use in intervocalic (t) to their corresponding Teesside speakers, showing a connection between perceived affiliation and speech, albeit that the total sample size was small.

¹⁰⁶ Speakers 2 and 4 only produced [t] in intervocalic position.

Overall, in the three discourse environments for this group (older females), there were consistent similarities in use of the released variant. Figure 6.8 highlights such similarities:

Figure 6.8: Similarities in (t) between WC older females in Darlington and Middlesbrough



The following section briefly summarises the findings of 6.2.

6.2.5: Conclusions

The aim of this section of the chapter was to ‘map’ DE subjects’ regional ideologies onto their linguistic performance, whilst attempting to contrast DE phonological patterning with that of the corresponding groups in other North Eastern areas.

Essentially, although the use of variants for (e) and (o) were similar in Darlington and Tyneside, the frequency of distribution for each variant was not. Although no real similarities were seen between MC DE and MC MbE speakers for FACE and GOAT, the DE group displaying most affinity to Teesside (older WC females) showed similarities in use of both vowels to their corresponding sex/age group in MbE.

When examining the DE group who displayed least affiliation to Tyneside (younger MC males) there was no correlation with MC younger male Tyneside English vowel use. Although their use in formal style for (e) and (o) was significantly different, the older DE MC males, who displayed *most* affiliation to Tyneside, did have similar use to their corresponding Tyneside speaker group for [e:] and [o:] in informal free conversation.

There were more evident similarities between WC Darlington and WC Middlesbrough English in word final (t) than in vocalic use. The main similarities were seen in the results for younger speakers with high use of [ʔ] in both accents. Indeed, in both pre-pausal and turn-final positions, the highest difference between MbE and DE younger speakers' use of [ʔ] was 9.9% (younger males – 77% in MbE, 67.1% in DE). In addition, throughout the (t) results the WC older females in DE showed very similar [t] use to the corresponding group in MbE. This was especially true in intervocalic position. Thus, the group who showed most affinity to Teesside also showed most linguistic similarities to their corresponding age/sex group in Middlesbrough for use in (t), (e) and (o).

The following chapter brings together the findings in this chapter, as well as the linguistic results found in Chapter 5, outlining the possible reasons why the trends within these results may have come about.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION

The following chapter addresses issues arising from the results in chapters 5 and 6 respectively. Primarily, the accent of DE is discussed, followed by an assessment of how identity is shaped within the town. Finally, the chapter examines how accent is affected by identity within Darlington English.

7.1.0 Overview of the Darlington English accent

Generally, the accent of Darlington English typically displays the properties of a ‘northern’ English accent. Given the results found in Chapter 5, and based on the findings from other North-Eastern areas, a definitive definition of Darlington English as a ‘North-Eastern’ accent is perhaps not so clear-cut. Whilst DE displays the typical ‘northern’ accentual features (no BAT-Bath split, [ʊ] for [ʌ] in the CUP vocalic set), the use of features typical of the findings in Tyneside and Teesside (particularly the ingliding diphthongs of [ɪə] and [ʊə]) is not evident in DE. The lack of similarity between DE and these two areas is again highlighted in the very low amounts of glottal reinforcement ([ʔt]) found in the four lexical environments of (t) surveyed. Coupled with this is the apparent lack of ‘extended frication’ ([Ht]) in DE, a feature evident in both Tyneside (Watt and Milroy (1999)) and Teesside (Llamas (2001), Jones and Llamas (2003)). In addition to these points, Darlington English appears not to retain [h] in the same way as Tyneside or Durham speakers, instead showing a relative split between [h] and [Ø] in word-initial position.

However, Darlington English does show a number of linguistic convergences with these neighbouring North-Eastern areas. In particular, the close-mid monophthongs [e:] and [o:] prevalent in the lower northern English areas of central Lancashire and Humberside (Beal 2004: 123) and, more pertinently in terms of the present study, in Durham and Tyneside English, are the preferred variants for both FACE and GOAT vowels in DE. This is in contrast to the more ‘open’ productions for the corresponding variants found twelve miles east in Middlesbrough ([ɔ:] and [ɛ:] respectively). The production of both variants in Middlesbrough is akin to those found extensively in areas of Yorkshire, such as Sheffield (cf. Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson

(1999) and Leeds (cf. Wells (1982) and Trudgill (1986)) and surely highlights Middlesbrough's past link to Yorkshire. Similarly, Darlington English use of [e:] and [o:], given its use in Durham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the SED data may be seen as a possible historical linguistic link to the area, as is the use of [eə] given the fact that this variant was present in the three Durham accents around Darlington at the time of the SED stimuli collection. A discussion of Durham and Darlington English GOAT and FACE vowel use follows.

In addition to the linguistic variation between Darlington English and the other North-Eastern accents, it was clear that there was also a great deal of linguistic variegation within the different social categories surveyed in the present study. The following section discusses the issues of age, sex and social class, as well as assessing how style impacted on linguistic performance in DE.

7.1.1 Social Class and the River Tees as a linguistic boundary

Section 1.1.11 outlined the methodologies used by sociolinguists in regard to the categorisation of social 'class'. It will be remembered that the term 'class' was used as an umbrella term incorporating definitions of both 'class' and 'status', with the terms effectively treated synonymously. In light of Trudgill's social class tier categorisation (see figure 1.1.3), it was decided that two localities would provide two groups of socially different subjects, differentiated by income levels, occupations and housing etc. The choice of two socially different localities from which subjects were selected was achieved using council ward statistics and the ACORN classification system (cf. Chapter 3). The results for the five linguistic variables in Chapter 5 showed 'class' to have a statistically significant effect on each, with middle-class and working-class variant use results showing distinct differences. The impact and influence of 'class' on linguistic performance in DE is interesting in light of the subject's quote in Pearce (2008) in Chapter 2 pertaining to the 'posh' West-end (Hummersknott) to the 'deepest Yorkshire/darkest Teesside' of other areas of the town. Although the results in the previous chapter have shown that Darlington English is by no means an accent of 'darkest Teesside', there are significant differences in linguistic use within the town.

Statistically, it appeared that word initial (h) and both vocalic variables of FACE and GOAT were consistently statistically significant in terms of 'class'. For word initial (h), all three lexical

categories were statistically significant. The implementation of class as an analytical construct in the present study thus highlighted a close relationship between [h] use and social class which has been explored elsewhere in other British English variationist studies.

Indeed, as outlined in Chapter 4, the loss of [h] ([Ø]) in word-initial position is a highly stigmatised marker or stereotype (Labov (1972)) in British English (cf. Wells (1982), Trudgill (1972), and Milroy (1983)). Use of [h] and thus retention in word-initial position is seen by many sociolinguists as the prestige form in many varieties of British English.

Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 59) assess two dialects and their use of word initial (h) stratified by social class¹⁰⁷. The percentage use for [Ø] is shown below in table 7.1, as is the distribution for Darlington English:

Table 7.1: Percentage distribution (%) of [Ø] in three UK towns¹⁰⁸

Class	Bradford	Norwich	Darlington	
MMC	12	6	MC	27.5
LMC	28	14		
UWC	67	40		
MWC	89	60		
LWC	93	60	WC	70.75

Although the class categorisations are finer grained in Bradford and Norwich than those of Darlington, the social effects on [Ø] are evident in all three towns, with the WC using more instances of [Ø] than the MC. This, as Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 59) state, “is to be expected, given that the British prestige accent RP retains [h]; we would expect higher-class speakers to pronounce more ‘h’s’ than lower-class speakers”. Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 59) note that use of [Ø] in Bradford English is “always greater” given that h-dropping is a relatively recent phenomenon in Norwich, whereas it is an older linguistic feature of greater antiquity in Bradford English. From the social class variation of (h) in Darlington English however, it is

¹⁰⁷ Chambers and Trudgill (1998) use the social class index outlined in Chapter 1, breaking WC and MC in to smaller categories.

¹⁰⁸ Table adapted from Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 59).

difficult to conclude whether social variation in terms of (h)-loss had existed previously in the town, or whether this phenomenon is a recent occurrence given the lack of any previous study. However, as we highlighted in Chapter 4, all three Durham SED areas appeared [h] retaining across a number of word-initial (h) environments, whilst Melsonby, the Yorkshire village eight miles south of Darlington did not. Given past work on Yorkshire English (cf. Petyt (1985), Stoddart et al. (1999)) and comments from Milroy (1983), the area south of the River Tees is typically [h]-less, this was to be expected. What is evident is the similarity to other British English areas in regard to h-dropping and the effect of social ‘class’ (the following studies all report the absence of word-initial (h) as being linked to ‘class’ - Tollfree (1996), (1999); Mathisen (1999); Newbrook (1999); Hughes and Trudgill (1987)).

However, Milroy (1983), Trudgill (1974) and Wells (1982) all state that the ‘far north’ (any area north of the River Tees) is [h] retaining. This should, on the face of it include Darlington. However, such a statement would go against the findings in the present study, given the high frequency in the WC especially of [Ø] in DE. Indeed, the high ‘non-use’ of [h] was very high in both WC male speaker groups across all lexical environments and contrasts to the near-categorical use of [h] in h-initial stressed items by the MC speakers.

In terms of vocalic use, class also showed very highly significant effects, both in formal and informal contexts. Consistently in the FC and RWL, the WC speakers preferred use of the close-mid monophthongs [e: o:] in contrast to the preference for [eɪ ɔ ʊ] by the MC. Using the same rationale as before, if we assume that both [eɪ] and [ɔ ʊ] are the ‘prestige’ variants, given that both are used in the English prestige accent RP, we may suggest that given the data found in Chapter 5, use of FACE and GOAT is strongly influenced by ‘class’. We discuss the nature of style in 7.1.5.

7.1.2 Age and the use of glottal (t) in the UK

In 1.1.8, the discussion highlighted emic and etic forms of categorisation for age, as well as the different methodologies used by sociolinguists, in particular real and apparent time studies. Having discussed results from past studies for adolescent and adult studies, it was decided that in

terms of selection of subjects, two broad etically-defined age categories, separated by one generation would be used. Furthermore, the groups were separated by one generation with both groups being within ‘adult’ age parameters: thus 18-25 and 45-60.

Age, statistically, was highly significant for all four environments of (t). The frequent replacement of [ʔ] for [t] by the younger speakers is consistent with linguistic changes reported more generally within the UK. Andresen (1968: 18) suggests that glottal replacement of [t] was occurring in the London area from around the beginning of the twentieth century. Trudgill (1974: 81), as quoted in Kerswill (2003: 9) notes that by the middle of the century, glottal replacement (thus [t] → [ʔ]), specifically in word-medial intervocalic position, was seen in most rural dialects in the east of England but not the South-West, Midlands or Northern England and Yorkshire. This would appear to fall-in with the results for (t) in the SED data noted in Chapter 4 with all four speakers retaining [t] (or dental [t] in the case of the Melsonby speaker) in a number of lexical environments. Studies examining urban centres outside the South-east in the last 30-40 years, as Kerswill (2003: 9) suggests, have found that [ʔ] has diffused to these areas (cf. Mees (1987 (Cardiff) Watt and Milroy (1999 - Newcastle-upon-Tyne), Llamas (2001 - Middlesbrough)), Knowles (1973) and Watson (2002) in Liverpool)). The majority of these studies have also found that the main users of [ʔ] are all younger speakers. This is comparable to the situation found in Darlington, where although use of [ʔ] by older speakers is evident, it is the younger speakers who use the feature approximately twice as frequently to that of their older speaking counterparts. Table 7.2 illustrates the percentage distribution of older DE to younger DE speakers for all four surveyed linguistic environments for (t):

Table 7.2: Percentage distribution for [ʔ]: Total DE versus younger versus older speaker use

Environment	% glottal use by older speaker	% glottal use by younger speakers
Pre-pausal	34.04	65.95
Turn-final	31.43	68.56
Word-final pre-vocalic	30.3	69.7
Intervocalic	38.2	61.8

It would appear then that DE is following a similar pattern of usage to other UK urban areas, with younger speakers using more instances of [ʔ] than their older counterparts. The variable of (t) in terms of regional use is assessed later.

7.1.3 Problems with age as a social variable

One of the main disadvantages of surveying an urban area which has previously received no prior forms of linguistic study is consequently the lack of previous linguistic performance by speakers from past generations in this particular area. Therefore, although the rural speaker-specific SED data aided our awareness of how certain linguistic features were produced “in-and-around” Darlington, it nevertheless fell short of anything solid with which to monitor any form of linguistic change within the town. The need for previous generational linguistic use, using the ‘trend-study’ framework outlined in 1.1.3 for instance, would have certainly led to more concrete conclusions as to the direction the DE sound system had been taking. Such information would have led to the survey also of other linguistic features not surveyed in the present study.

Similarly, as detailed in 1.1.3, the present study perhaps falls short in its lack of survey of a young, adolescent, emically-defined generational group. Although a lack of linguistic ‘stability’ has been levelled at adolescent speech (Eckert (2000), Bailey (2001)), the inclusion of a younger speech group within the DE corpus may have been useful in contrasting further age trends in Darlington English. On the other hand, the choice of two age cohorts within ‘adulthood’ (thus after adolescence and, as Labov (2001: 386) suggests within the time of “persistence and stability of phonological patterns”) certainly was useful in highlighting patterns of language variation within Darlington English. Although not as consistent as ‘class’ in highlighting significant patterns of use in DE, the age variable had a strong association with DE speakers’ use of (t), highlighting significant differences between old and young speakers’ use of [ʔ], a generational feature echoed in other regional studies, particularly Middlesbrough (Llamas (2001)). We move now to a discussion on sex and its affects on linguistic performance.

7.1.4 Sex

Section 1.1.3 outlined the somewhat troublesome nature of classification for ‘sex’ and ‘gender’. It will be remembered that the term ‘sex’ was chosen for the purposes of survey into male and female linguistic use in DE. The section also discussed principles 2, 3 and 4 (culminating in ‘The Gender Paradox’) of Labov’s ‘principles of sound change’.

Sex, across all five linguistic variables, was generally not a significant factor in terms of linguistic use within Darlington English. In comparison to the significance of ‘class’ for both vocalic variables as well as word initial (h) and the high significance for age in all four (t) environments, sex was only consistently significant, statistically, in word initial (h). However, two other linguistic variants ([eə] and [?]), also highlight differences in terms of sex when comparing the raw data for male and female speakers.

If we remember the rationale of Chambers and Trudgill (1998) for [h], (that the sound is retained word-initially in RP, the prestige accent of Britain), we may expect [Ø] to be a non-prestige variant. Indeed, many sociolinguists have described ‘h-dropping’ ([Ø]) as a stigmatized form in British English (cf. Trudgill (1974) and Wells (1982), Beal and Corrigan (1999), Altendorf (2003)). Consistently, the results for word-initial (h) in Darlington showed that female use of [Ø] was lower than that of the males (using 43% of the variant in all four lexical contexts). Indeed, in stressed items, of the total of 74 tokens of [Ø], only 19 were realized by females (25.7%). The statistical significance for sex in terms of (h) was evident in each of the four lexical contexts and we may be confident in concluding that, assuming the [Ø] variant is stigmatized in DE, female speakers use it less than their male counterparts.

Although sex was not statistically significant for FACE variants in an informal style, the ingliding diphthongal variant [eə] showed differences in terms of sex use. Of the 130 tokens realised, 96 were produced by male speakers (73.85%). Such a figure would perhaps have influenced the statistical significance for ‘sex’ in FACE results, however, the 130 tokens for [eə] constituted only 8.4% of the total FACE results. Neither MC female groups used this variant, whilst 30 tokens were produced by the older WC females. Interestingly, the phonetically similar

diphthong [ɪə] found in TE was seen to be mainly used by WC males: this would appear to be true of DE also, as 83/130 tokens (63.8%) were produced by the corresponding group in Darlington. It is possible, given the record of [eə] in the three Durham areas around Darlington within the SED stimuli, we may assume that it is a localised variant of Durham. It is plausible also that given the low nature of use in the MC and high use in the WC male speaker group, as well as the near absence of this variant in RWL conditions, that this feature may be socially marked in Darlington English.

Again, as with the variable of FACE, sex was not statistically significant in terms of (t) usage in any of the three discursual environments of pre-pausal, word-final pre vocalic and turn final. However, age was found to be statistically significant in word medial intervocalic position which is interesting given that it is widely reported in the literature that glottal (t) [ʔ] is a stigmatised variant in British English (Trudgill (1974), Wells (1982)). The extent of glottalling in intervocalic position was, in DE, mainly realised by male speakers: of the 314 tokens of [ʔ], 232 (73.89%) were produced by WC and MC males. Again, it is clear that of the stigmatised variants, males in Darlington produce more than females. What may be evident however, is that the DE males do not view [ʔ] as a stigmatised variant and this may even be viewed as a prestige variant within the DE speech community.

In conclusion, if we take each of the three variants [Ø], [ʔ] and [eə] as being features of which the DE speakers are overtly aware, perhaps even stigmatized, and given the results for each in terms of sex use in the accent, we may assume that Labov's 'Principle 2' of the *Gender Paradox* (cf. Chapter 1) applies in DE.

The next section outlines the non-social construct of style and its effect on linguistic variants within the present study.

7.1.5 Style: effect on variant use

Style differences were apparent in each of the linguistic environments under investigation. Certainly this was most apparent within the vocalic stimuli for FACE and GOAT, but also in pre-pausal and intervocalic (t)¹⁰⁹. Indeed, given the results for the style differences in (t) and also in FACE and GOAT, it is apparent that DE speakers are overtly aware of [ɪ], [e:] and [o:] and it is possible that these three variants are seen as social markers in DE (cf. discussion of Labov's 'markers' and 'stereotypes' in Chapter 1).

In two of the lexical contexts for (t) (word medial intervocalic and pre-pausal), it was evident that large style differences were occurring in young speech in DE. The relatively low use of [t] in free conversation by the younger speakers was contrasted to their high use in citation form. The MC younger male speakers for example used [t] for 24% of the time in FC word medial intervocalic forms, whilst in word-list form, the group used the variant 98% of the time. The style results for [t] use highlight the fact that whilst younger DE speakers may be seen to be 'innovators' linguistically, given the history of the glottal variant ([ɾ]) more generally within British English, it would appear that these large style differences may point to the fact that [ɪ] is viewed as a marked or stigmatized linguistic form within Darlington English. We may postulate that [ɪ] is indeed a linguistic 'marker' in the accent, given that it is both socially and stylistically stratified (cf. Labov (1994) and discussion in Chapter 1)).

Apart from the style differences for (t), large style differences were evident in both vocalic sets of results. Indeed, as with [ɪ], it is possible that both close-mid monophthongs ([e:] and [o:]) may also be 'markers' in DE. In terms of style shifting, we find two groups, both in the MC, who display distinct differences between formal and informal styles for [o:]. The MC younger females and older males each show significant differences in use of [o:] between formal and informal styles as highlighted in table 7.3:

¹⁰⁹ Style differences for word-initial (h) were clouded somewhat due to the contrast of the reading passage with the free conversation material as opposed to reading word list material and free conversation stimuli.

Table 7.3: Style differences for [o:] in two MC groups (%)

	RWL	FC	Difference
MCYF	10	58	48
MCOM	22	64	42

In the case of the younger females, the use of the close-mid monophthongs is interesting to note given their description of Darlington English in the IDQ, as a ‘flat’ accent. Indeed, three of the four speakers even referred to the use of [e: o:] as an example of this ‘flatness’. Such overt awareness of the vowel system of Darlington English may have possibly led to the increased use of closing diphthongal realizations in the formal reading word list. However, for FACE, the style shift is not as dramatic (around 8% difference). One possible explanation may be that [o:] is more locally ‘marked’ than [e:]. This would, however, not explain the difference in use for [e:] in the MC older male group. The ‘shift difference’ was even higher for the MC older males for [e:] than that for [o:], with a 54% difference between RWL (16%) and FC (70%). The large difference between styles in FACE and GOAT may be due to a number of reasons. The ideological responses given by this group point to one significant factor concerning their view of Darlington within the North-East. Throughout the Identities questionnaire (IQ), the older MC males constantly identified Darlington as being within the county parameters of Durham as well as showing positive identity to Tyneside (a factor examined in the previous chapter). As discussed in 2.1 and 2.2, this, administratively at least, was the case up until 1997, with Darlington being seen as part of south-west Durham, and administered by Durham County for teaching, health and the emergency services. Three of the four speakers in this group had been teachers within County Durham. Each had travelled to a teacher training college towards the north of the county before taking up positions in and around Darlington. In 3.2.2 it was hypothesised that the more formal the style, the more likely it would seem that the older speakers, as Watt (1998: 102) noted, “will associate reading aloud with the ideas of ‘correctness’, ‘clarity of enunciation’ and ‘propriety’ that are instilled in them during childhood”. This would appear to be the case for the MC older males. The fact that three of the speakers had been teachers would, it seems, only compound such overt control of linguistic features which are perceived as being locally stigmatised. The high use of the ‘standard’ diphthongs [eɪ oʊ] in the

reading word list (76% and 80% respectively) is an example of the ‘correctness’ or ‘propriety’ connected with the formal reading word list. However, the free conversation, with its casual, dynamic nature, highlights forms which are more typical of speakers’ use in day to day speech. In this case, it would appear that the monophthongal variants are typical of MC older male speech for both FACE and GOAT. Moreover, both monophthongal variants were typical of speech in Durham (Kerswill (1987)) and of the SED areas around Darlington (cf. Witton-le-Wear) as well as being the preferred variants of Tyneside (Watt (1998), Watt and Milroy (1999)).

In conclusion, it is evident that both [e:] and [o:] as well as [ɪ] show significant variability in style and social stratification. Add to this DE speakers’ comments, pertaining particularly to [e:] and [o:] and the ‘flatness’ of the DE accent, we may suggest that DE speakers are overtly aware of such variants to the point of being socially ‘marked’ variants.

Section 7.2 assesses language ideology, the micro-level component of the methodological structure for the present study of Darlington speech

7.2 IDENTITY: issues of identity of Darlington within the North-East

From the results seen in Chapter 6, a number of trends were evident with respect to Darlington English subjects’ feelings towards their town and the North-East in general.

Principally, Darlington subjects saw themselves as primarily ‘Darlingtonians’ and ‘North-Easterners’ secondly. This was highlighted by only 7 of the total of 32 speakers claiming to ‘think of themselves as North-Easterners first’ rather than Darlingtonians (all 7 speakers incidentally were in the ‘middle-class’). To the outsider, a higher figure may have been expected given for example, the media links (e.g. BBC ‘Look North’, a regional North-East news programme received in Darlington and Tyne Tees Television, in addition to North East regional radio such as ‘Metro’, ‘Century’ and ‘TFM’ (situated in Teesside), and the fact that the headquarters of ‘The Northern Echo’ is situated in central Darlington) which portray a sense of regionalism and affiliation to the North East. As was the case for Middlesbrough (Llamas 2001:

229), Darlington has been open to “local regional television for the past 40 years”. Indeed, Tyne Tees Television, a local television station which is centred in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, exposes viewers to “varieties of English which are spoken in communities further north” (ibid). This exposure to accents north of Darlington and Middlesbrough is emphasised as Llamas explains further, by the number of North Eastern presenters appearing on national TV (Ant & Dec, Jayne Middlemiss and Robson Green). Quoting Docherty and Foulkes (1999), she [Llamas] states that, although “no empirical evidence exists to determine the effect of the media on linguistic behaviour”, it is suggested that, “speakers of varieties which are linguistically close to socially influential models would be more likely to adopt patterns from those models than speakers whose native forms are very different.” It would appear that with the exception of specific vowel variants in FACE and GOAT, the adoption of linguistic forms from Newcastle-upon-Tyne through this medium is not evident in Darlington and indeed the affect of television through the media and particularly television is considered by many linguists (cf particularly Trudgill (1986)) to be a language ‘myth’. However, recent work by Stuart-Smith (2006) shows that far from being a ‘myth’ the effect of television on the speech of Glaswegian adolescents highlighted short-term changes in their language use.

Secondly, the results highlighted the fact that Darlingtonians do not display affiliation to either Tyneside or Teesside. This was particularly true of Teesside with DE subjects even favouring to be misidentified as a ‘Geordie’ rather than a ‘Teessider’. Indeed, it was wholly apparent that DE subjects view Tyneside as the focal point of the North East itself (a point raised by Beal (2004) and Pearce (2009: 3).

Finally, the shifting administrations of Darlington noted in Chapter 2, appears to have led to a lack of any strong regional affiliation Darlingtonians may have had. For example, even the proximity of the town to Yorkshire and the historical administrative affiliation to Durham neither were regarded by Darlingtonians as areas to which they would wish to be affiliated. Both the link to Durham and Yorkshire appears to be apparent to older generations of Darlingtonians¹¹⁰, whilst such a link to their town is not noted by the younger speakers. The lack of any overt awareness of the Durham/Yorkshire affiliation may be due, in part, to the fact that they have lived through the shifts in administration, whereas the older speakers were more aware of their town being in

¹¹⁰ Only three speakers claimed affiliation to Durham or Yorkshire (all in the older MC male group).

Durham and thus disaffiliating themselves from Yorkshire. Any disaffiliation from areas outside the town appears now to exist primarily with regard to Middlesbrough.

Although DE speakers' dislike for both Middlesbrough and Newcastle-upon-Tyne is apparent, several questions in the IDQ did at least highlight some form of affiliation for Tyneside. To assess whether such affinity is reinforced by a link to their linguistic behaviour, we now attempt to outline both convergent and divergent linguistic trends between Darlington English and the North East.

7.3 Locally relevant identities and linguistic variation

A number of British English studies have recently attempted to survey both patterns of variation and language attitudes (Llamas (2001); Dyer (2000); Kiely et al. (2000); Burbano-Elizondo (2008)). This section assesses the link between language ideology and language use in Darlington, examining whether ideology affects the choice of linguistic forms used and investigating the convergent and divergent linguistic patterns between DE and the other North-Eastern urban accents mentioned. In particular, the section addresses whether the 'distancing' expressed by DE subjects towards the areas of Tyneside and Teesside is mirrored in the lack of similarity between the accents' linguistic features. Primarily, the vowels of FACE and GOAT are examined.

What was clear from the vocalic results in Chapter 5, was the lack of the ingliding diphthongs [ɪə] and [ʊə]. Both variants are used to different extents in three North Eastern urban areas: Durham (Kerswill (1987)), Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Watt (1998), Watt and Milroy (1999)) and Middlesbrough (Watt and Llamas 2004). Results from these studies show that these regionally marked variants are being levelled out in favour of the close-mid monophthongs of [e:] and [o:] (cf. Watt (1998), Watt and Milroy (1999) and Kerswill 2003). In Darlington, although [ʊə] is not produced, a corresponding variant for FACE is realised: this is transcribed as [eə]. This variant was produced by speakers from the three SED Durham areas of Bishop Middleham, Witton-le-Wear and Eggleston, although given the nature of the SED data, it is difficult to conclude as to the frequency this feature was actually used in each area. In the present study, the variant was

only used for 8.7% of the overall FACE distribution in free conversation, with less than 3.5% use in the formal word list. If we assume that in the past, based on the SED results, the variant has been operational within Darlington English, perhaps to a greater extent than was found in the present study, the greater proportion of the close-mid monophthong ([e:]) may be a contributing factor to the loss of use of the ingliding diphthong. In light of this, it is interesting to compare Darlington English WC use of the FACE ingliding diphthong with both North Eastern areas, Durham and Newcastle-upon-Tyne:

Table 7.4: Two FACE vowel variants (ingliding diphthongs/close-mid monophthongs) in three North-Eastern dialects in FC style¹¹¹ (WC speakers)

	Durham 1983 (Kerswill 1987)		Newcastle 1994 (Watt 1998)				Darlington 2004 (Present study)			
	Men	Women	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	26-59	26-52	45-67	15-27	45-67	15-27	40-60	18-27	40-60	19-27
% [ɪə/əə]	45	8	63	36	8	5	21.8	18	8	1.9
% [e:]	55	92	37	64	92	95	70.1	81.8	80.1	87.5

Table 7.4 highlights the preference, in most cases, for the use of the pan northern [e:] variant over that of the regional ingliding diphthong [ɪə/əə]. The exception to this rule being the 45 -67 year old men in Tyneside English (producing 63% of [ɪə] against that of 37% of [e:]). This aside, if we look at the younger corresponding group (15-27 year old males), their use of [e:] is almost twice that of the localised ingliding diphthong (64% against 36%).

It may be assumed, given the results above, that with decreasing age comes a decrease in the use of [ɪə/əə] in favour of use of the monophthong [e:]. This may enforce the theory of Kerswill (2001) and Watt (1998), that the decline of the ingliding diphthong is due to the increase in the

¹¹¹ No Middlesbrough information was used in this table due to the lack of FC data for FACE in Watt and Llamas (2004).

use of [e:]. Coupled with this is the high use of [e:] by females in DE; a very similar set of results are seen in DE female use for [e:] as in Durham and Newcastle-upon-Tyne and points, as Kerswill (2003) notes, to the possibility of this decrease in the ingliding diphthong to [e:] as a female-led process. Darlington English thus, shows that it is adopting a similar pattern to other North Eastern areas in its use of the FACE vowel. In terms of the ingliding diphthongal variant for GOAT, this was not present in Darlington English, but was recorded in two SED areas (Eggleston and Bishop Middleham). Interestingly, the close-mid monophthong ([o:]) was the variant used predominantly in the other Durham area (Witton-le-Wear) which was the most northerly of the SED areas chosen and the closest to the city of Durham. Whatever the possible history of the ingliding diphthong for GOAT in the locality of Darlington, the results showed that if it did exist in the DE phonetic inventory, it does not now. The high use of 66.4% of [o:] seen in the DE results, may have resulted from diffusion and dialect contact from these areas north of Darlington. Without empirical evidence from previous work in Darlington, it is difficult for us to conclude this. Coupled with the 64.3% of [e:], there is evidence to suggest that the town is falling into line with the generalised northern koine defined by Watt (1998) and is thus convergent linguistically with a number of other North-Eastern areas.

7.3.1 Problems with the pan-Northern koine

It is essential to stress the divergent patterns in the production of FACE and GOAT monophthongal vowel variants between Teesside and the other North Eastern areas surveyed linguistically. Crucially, although Middlesbrough English reflects the patterns of monophthongal use of Tyneside, Durham and Darlington, the more open production of both [ɔ:] and [ɛ:] suggests that Middlesbrough English is following the pan-Northern koine in respect of both vowels. Instead, Middlesbrough English retains ‘typically’ (cf. Watt and Tillotson (2001) and Richards (2008)) Yorkshire productions of [ɔ:] and [ɛ:] for both vowels. However, one interesting comparison is that of Middlesbrough English to Hull English (Kingston upon Hull lies south of Middlesbrough) in their productions of both vowels ([ɔ:] and [ɛ:] – cf. Cheshire et al. (1999) and Kerswill and Williams (1999) for further discussion on Hull English).

Historically, Hull was part of the East Riding of Yorkshire before becoming part of Humberside, whilst Middlesbrough was previously part of the North Riding of Yorkshire. The towns lie 110 miles apart, with each lying at the mouth of estuaries on the east of England. Far from categorising Middlesbrough as part of the pan-northern change affecting Tyneside, Durham and of course Darlington, it is possible that a separate koineisation of both FACE and GOAT vowels is in operation in both these northern areas. In addition, as Richards et al. (2009) note, that although there is no consistent use, York English does utilise both [e:] and [o:]. Further linguistic survey could be examined in areas such as Scarborough, Bridlington etc., geographically situated between Hull and Middlesbrough and would seek to investigate this theory. What is clear is that Darlington English can be categorised with Durham, Tyneside and York English as using the ‘pan-northern’ monophthongs [e:] and [o:], whilst Middlesbrough can not.

7.3.2 North-Eastern diphthongs and glottal /t/ in the Tees Valley

A divergent pattern in North-Eastern terms is seen, in the use of closing diphthongs between Darlington and other urban areas such as Tyneside and Teesside. The use of 13.66% for [oʊ] in reading word list style in Newcastle-upon-Tyne is half as much as that of DE (27.3%), whilst Teesside English use (albeit from a small sample) is less than 5% (4.65%). Furthermore, use of the FACE diphthong [eɪ] in DE (24.9%) far outweighs the distributions in Tyneside English (5.14%) and Teesside (6%). The high use of both diphthongs (described by Llamas 2001) as typically ‘southern sounding’) is very much due to the influence of the DE middle class. Having said this, one must pose the question: is this high-use of both RP diphthongs in DE a result of their language ideologies and specifically, is it an overt ‘distancing’ from both Tyneside and Teesside by DE speakers?

The DE group consistently producing the highest amount of closing diphthongs of any of the other DE speaker groups was the MC younger males with 76% distribution in free conversation for both [oʊ] and [eɪ]. This group also displayed the least affiliation toward the Teesside tag. If we compare MC younger male FACE and GOAT diphthongal distribution with the overall distribution for both variants, such use seems high:

Table 7.5: Overall DE vocalic use in FC versus MC younger male use

	Overall Distribution	Middle Class Younger Males
[oʊ]	24.9%	76%
[eɪ]	27.3%	76%

It was seen in Middlesbrough (Llamas 2001) itself, that the MC younger males who used the most amount of ‘standard’ forms (such as [eɪ] and [oʊ] for example) and had the highest level of geographical mobility, also showed the most allegiance to their hometown locale. Such use of ‘southern-sounding’ forms was also true of the results Dyer saw in Corby (2000). It may be possible that the MC younger males are overtly distancing themselves from Middlesbrough, using the production of the closing diphthongs as a linguistic mechanism for this.

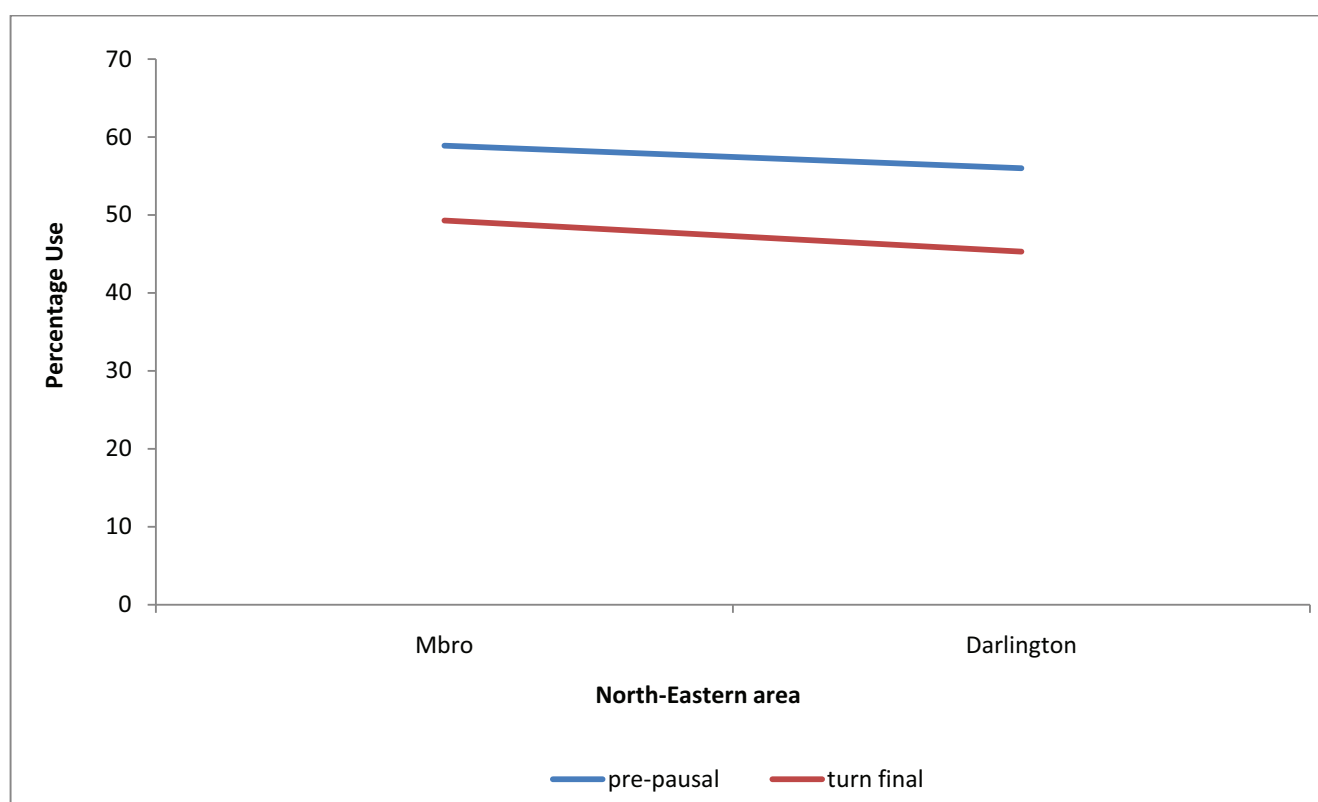
The animosity towards the misidentification as ‘Geordie’ was not as strong for Darlingtonians as it was when they were misidentified as a ‘Teessider’. Indeed, the overt acknowledgment of the Middlesbrough vowel system and the negative values associated with it, were noted in the majority of the interviews elicited. On the other hand, Darlington English informants, although showing negative reactions to the tag of ‘Geordie’ did display positive evaluations towards the Tyneside accent. When asked if they would change their accent in any way, Darlington subjects saw DE as very much a hybrid accent. Many Darlingtonians viewed Geordie as the epitome of a North-Eastern accent, with features specific to their regional area. On occasions, a number of informants stated that if they could change their accent, they would change it to ‘Geordie’. This change, they felt, would give them a stereotypical North-Eastern accent. This would seem to contradict the feelings expressed towards the ‘tag’ of Tyneside.

The use of (t) in Darlington and Middlesbrough saw both convergent and divergent patterns of use. It was apparent when examining the pilot study results, that the phenomena known as ‘extended frication’ (Llamas (1998), (2001) and Allen (2001)) was not in operation in Darlington as it was in Tyneside and Teesside (cf. Watt and Milroy (1999) and Llamas (2001)). Indeed, no instance was recorded either formally (in the reading word list) or informally (free conversation).

Added to this, the amount of glottal reinforcement is far below the levels of those seen in both Tyne- and Teesside, with no instances observed in word-final position and relatively small use in the remaining two environments (1.1% word final pre-vocalic and 7.3% in intervocalic position). Although there are no instances of glottalisation within either pre-pausal or turn final in DE results, there are high percentage usages of the glottal [ʔ] (56.64% in pre-pausal and 45.3% in turn final position).

Interestingly, there is a very close similarity between the results seen in Darlington and those of Middlesbrough. These similarities are highlighted in the figure 7.1:

Figure 7.1: Similarity in distribution of [ʔ] in turn and pre-pausal position in FC for MbE and DE



Further similarity in results is seen by the fact that 77.5% of the younger females in Middlesbrough produce the glottal variant [ʔ] in pre-pausal position (cf. Llamas 2001: 203): in

the Darlington English results, the WC younger females produce 78% of the glottal [ʔ] and are the highest glottal producing group (a fact highlighted in 6.2).

In the case of Darlington, the percentage use in pre-pausal position of [t] is 43.34%, compared to 30.7% in Middlesbrough. Furthermore, there is over 10% difference in the use of [t] between the two areas in turn final position with Darlington using 53.58% and Middlesbrough 42.6%. The full comparison of variants between the two areas is seen in table 7.6:

Table 7.6: Pre-pausal/turn final (t) results for Middlesbrough and Darlington

Pre-pausal (t)	Fully released [t]	Glottal [ʔ]
Middlesbrough English	30.7%	58.9%
Darlington English	43.34%	56.01%
Turn-final (t)	Fully released [t]	Glottal [ʔ]
Middlesbrough English	42.6%	49.3%
Darlington English	53.58%	45.64%

Given the lack of similarity in vocalic use coupled with Darlingtonians' lack of affiliation to Middlesbrough, the apparent symmetry of the consonantal variable (t) between the two towns is notable. Darlington may be moving in the same direction not only as the regional, but national norm, with the occurrence of glottalling in pre-pausal position and turn final position (cf. Kerswill and Williams (1999)). Given the lack of operation of the Final Release Rule, Darlington and Middlesbrough appear to diverge from the linguistic trend found further north in Durham and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Thus, a link is seen between both Darlington and Middlesbrough and Durham and Newcastle-upon-Tyne for word final (t); evidence that a north/south North-Eastern divide may exist. On the other hand, pre-aspirated (t) ([Ht]) (extended frication) is present in Middlesbrough and Newcastle-upon-Tyne and not Darlington.

7.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have assessed the impact of each social variable upon linguistic patterns in DE, as well as how subjects' regional affiliations affect these linguistic patterns. The results and consequent discussions highlighted that although community identity pointed to strong affiliation to their town, certain DE speaker groups created their identities through linguistic use within this community (cf. the younger MC males). By bridging the gap between linguistic use and aspects of speakers' language ideology we may uncover why a certain form is chosen. The examination of language ideology is crucial in deriving why a speaker's choice is made. In addition, qualitative attitudinal information was successfully quantified in respect of the social parameters of sex, age and class, enabling comment on patterns and trends found. In addition, the implementation of attitudinal data alongside sex, age and class facilitated mapping of speakers' linguistic behaviour on to the attitudinal data elicited. In conclusion, the results of the study highlight the value of marrying the two approaches of micro- and macro- levels of analysis.

Although many positives may be taken from such marrying of micro- and macro-level analyses to uncover language use, the lack of any previous linguistic study in Darlington has limited the chance to cross-compare any linguistic change which may have occurred within the town. The 1960s SED data was useful, but the distances of the areas from Darlington, as well as the subject selection gave us only a brief indication as to the state of DE at that time. What the present study has offered however, is a snapshot of a North-Eastern urban variety previously unsurveyed linguistically.

Further investigation of DE will give a clearer indication as to any linguistic change occurring in the town. Future investigation of areas along the Tees may be warranted also. The results, between Middlesbrough and Darlington, vocally at least, show differences. Far from linguistic differences existing north and south of the River Tees (cf. Trudgill (1974) and Milroy (1983)), it is possible that greater variation is evident along it. The following chapter puts forward a number of other regional urban areas which may be of interest to the sociolinguist.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS

8.0 Overview

The following section assesses the original aims and research questions of the present study outlined in Chapter 1.

The first – to investigate phonological variation and change within the previously unresearched area of Darlington using a stratified sample and analysis of a subset of variables which seem most likely to highlight the social dimensions within the phonological variation of the town – was explored, given the choice of three consonantal and two vocalic variables stratified by the three extra-linguistic variables of age, sex and social ‘class’. The subset of five linguistic variables was arrived at through (a) identification of phonetic variables highlighted in contemporary regional variationist studies and through (b) a pilot study. The latter (4.1), began with ten possible variables in both formal and informal styles, narrowing down to the final five variables of GOAT and FACE vowels, word-initial (h) and word medial and final (t). The choice of word-initial (h) was implemented with the geographical boundary of (h)-less North Yorkshire and (h) retaining South Durham (Orton and Dieth (1963); Trudgill (1974); Milroy (1983)) in mind. Both vocalic variables and (t) environments were seen to vary across all three extra-linguistic variables within the pilot study with comparative studies in Middlesbrough and Newcastle-Upon-Tyne highlighting similar findings.

Significant results were seen across all linguistic variables in terms of ‘class’, whilst age was similarly significant in terms of (t) use. Although not consistent in its statistical significance, sex in terms of the linguistic variables did show differences between male and female speech. In both vocalic variables, the preponderance of the close-mid monophthongs [e: o:] particularly by the WC Darlington English subjects appears to validate the theory that a generalised northern koine (cf. Watt (1998); Kerswill (2001)) may be in operation. Although there were no previous records of linguistic use in Darlington, it was clear from the SED data collated in the 1960s that the ingliding diphthong [eə] had been used in the area surrounding Darlington. Results showed that there was only 8.3% use in present day informal DE speech and it was hypothesised that, as with

[ɪə] in Durham and Tyneside, the high use of [e:] had to an extent replaced it. More generally, it was used by the younger DE speakers who produced a higher rate than that of the older speakers of glottal (t) [ʔ] both word-finally and in word medial intervocalic position. This would also appear to be in line with the current trend in British English for younger speakers in urban centres to prefer this variant (Kerswill and Williams (1999); Llamas 2001). Past studies (Trudgill (1974); Milroy (1983) had suggested that the area known as the ‘far north’ did not ‘drop’ [h]: results showed that (h) loss was evident in DE presently in a number of different lexical environments and particularly in WC speech.

In summary, the analysis of each of the three social variables of age, sex and ‘class’ successfully highlighted variation within the speech community of Darlington.

The second aim – to examine aspects of language ideology, assessing the link between linguistic use and individual speakers’ orientation to Darlington as well as comparing patterns of this use with other North-Eastern areas – was similarly explored. In regard to the latter, comparison of linguistic patterns within the North East, Chapter 6 addressed this, contrasting a selection of Darlington’s vocalic and consonantal variables with those of Middlesbrough and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Although comparison between areas was dependent on style and ‘class’, the results showed differences between Middlesbrough, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Darlington phonetic inventories. The main differences between DE and MbE were seen particularly in the vocalic variants of GOAT and FACE. Such differences in the vocalic variables was interesting given the distance of 12 miles between Darlington and Middlesbrough and may have accounted for the ideological ‘distancing’ DE subjects’ showed between themselves and Middlesbrough. The main vocalic difference (for GOAT and FACE vowels at least) was a more ‘open’ pronunciation in the use of monophthongs in Middlesbrough to that of Darlington. Further investigation of vowel use saw Darlington’s non-use of the ingliding diphthongs (realised in Middlesbrough and Newcastle-upon-Tyne) [ɪə] and [ʊə]. Consonantally however, although differing significantly from Tyneside, Darlington’s use of (t) in word final position showed similarities to Middlesbrough. Indeed, they used almost identical amounts of ‘t-glottalling’ [ʔ] in pre-pausal and turn-final

position. Unlike Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Middlesbrough however, Darlington English does not possess pre-aspirated /t/ ([Ht]), an example of ‘extended frication’.

In Chapter 2, I put forward the hypothesis, based on Darlington’s recent administrative shifts, diminishing industrial and business ‘pull’ in the region and lack of connection to their region more generally (evidenced in the highest number of ‘no’ votes for a regional assembly), that such administrative shifts may have led to Darlingtonians ‘distancing’ themselves from other North-Eastern areas. As such, we may have expected such a position to be reflected in the linguistic use in the town. In Chapter 7, given the linguistic results in Chapter 5, it was apparent that this may be partly true, as DE showed both convergent and divergent trends in regard to North-East linguistic forms (for example, the similarity of [e:] and [o:] use to Tyneside and [ʔ] in

Middlesbrough against that of the increased use of closing diphthongs [eɪ oʊ], as well as the lack of [ʊə] and [Ht] in DE). Ideologically, the DE speakers’ link to their own town was strong. The Darlington subjects see themselves primarily *as Darlingtonians* and as North Easterners secondly: this is evidence perhaps that Darlington is more of a ‘stand alone’ area, rather than as an integrated region of the North East. Strength of allegiance to their town was reinforced by the lack of positive affiliation to either neighbouring North-Eastern areas of Middlesbrough or Tyneside, although speakers felt more strongly in their disdain for the former than the latter.

Such was the nature of the methodological structure of the present study that we were able to further assess not only the local affiliations of the DE speech community as a whole, but also the individual speaker comments and assess whether these comments affected their linguistic behaviour. This ‘mapping’ was seen to be particularly age-correlated, with older speakers (MC older males/ WC older females) displaying similar linguistic use to that of their corresponding speakers in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Middlesbrough respectively. In addition, it was seen that the group claiming to be North-Easterners, yet *all* showing negative affiliations to Middlesbrough and Newcastle-upon-Tyne (MC younger males), produced the most amount of southern sounding linguistic forms ([eɪ oʊ]) in their vocalic use. The subjects in this group also experienced the most geographical mobility. When analysed more closely, the MC younger males were seen to use the pan northern monophthongs [e: o:], in addition to the closing

diphthongs in free conversation. It was concluded, as in Llamas (2001: 256), that an increase in heterogeneity is evident, as these speakers adopt forms which carry important social prestige to them (such as [eɪ oʊ]) whilst using forms ([e: o:]) which bolster their regional identity elsewhere.

Chapter 6 addressed the third aim, probing individual speakers' sense of identity, both linguistically and ideologically. Linguistically, Darlington English speakers do not see themselves as sharing any accent qualities with the 'sing-songy' Tyneside or the 'harsh' sounding area of Teesside. Results from the qualitative identities questionnaire showed that from a sociological point of view, Darlingtonians see themselves primarily as *Darlingtonians* and as North Easterners secondly: this is evidence again that Darlington, in the eyes of its inhabitants, is more of an 'individual' area, rather than as an integrated region of the North East.

8.1 Further areas of study

The results of the present study have highlighted significant differences between Darlington and a number of neighbouring North-Eastern urban areas. Indeed, whilst (t) use was very similar in Middlesbrough and Darlington English, it was evident that vocalic use between the two towns was not. Given the linguistic differences between the two towns, an interesting extension of sociolinguistic study would be to survey other areas within the Tees Valley and indeed along the mining area known as the 'Durham limestone plateau' (Pearce (2009), Aalen and Muir (2006)) which spread from Darlington in the west to Hartlepool in the east. Thus, tracking the vocalic features of GOAT and FACE along the route of the Tees, or from Darlington to Hartlepool, may produce some interesting results in terms of language variation within this area.

Apart from this area, the region north of Darlington, once heavily proliferated with close-knit mining communities (McCord (1979: 117) states that by 1911, there were 152,000 miners in County Durham, around 30% of the total employed)) and the dialect of these communities, known as *Pitmatic* still being broadly recognised today (Pearce 2009: 15), would be of sociolinguistic interest. In particular, areas such as Bishop Auckland, Shildon and Spennymoor (all areas surveyed in terms of language perception by Pearce (2009)) are all small towns which have strong 'mining-town' histories, coupled with relatively isolated geographical locations.

Such areas in the mid-Durham region would be interesting to cross-compare with those areas in the north of the county investigated by Kerswill ((1987), (2006) in Langley Park and Ushaw Moor)). The town of Newton Aycliffe, the first of the northern ‘New Towns’ and north of Darlington, has recently been investigated by West (2008), providing an insight, ideologically in to a previously unsurveyed urban North-East settlement.

To the south of Darlington and across the River Tees, the natural boundary between North Yorkshire and South Durham, the towns of Richmond and Leyburn would, given their geographical position as very much the first areas of any size in the north of the county of North Yorkshire, also add to the corpus of linguistic study in the north of England. The results from the SED data in Melsonby showed distinct linguistic differences to that of the other three Durham areas peppered around the Darlington area. The close proximity of both towns to the Durham border may also provide a great deal of overt comments surrounding this neighbouring northern area.

Finally, the area of Teesdale, so often mis-described by the informants in the perceptual map-task in Chapter 2, is surely a perfect location to conduct sociolinguistic survey. Indeed, the town of Barnard Castle, geographically is the most densely populated conurbation (albeit ca. 6000 inhabitants) west of Darlington and the ‘last’ town before the Pennines and the Lake District. The isolation of the town is perhaps ideal with which to implement the methodological structure used in the present study to measure socio-phonetic use, language ideology and how both combine to affect linguistic performance.

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